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CORNELII TACITI

VITA AGRICOLAE

FURNEAUX

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.

PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

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CORNELII TACITI

VITA AGRICOLAE

EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND MAP

BY

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PREFACE

THE text of this edition, though on the whole in agreement with that of Halm (fourth ed., 1889), differs from it, sometimes slightly but often considerably, in nearly fifty places[1], mostly on the side of preserving or keeping nearer to the manuscript text, and would thus be better designated as an independent recension. In its revision I have used the chief critical editions, as those of Wex (see Introd., p. 5), Ritter (1864), Urlichs (see p. 5, n. 3), Andresen (1880), J. Müller (1887), &c.[2]; also several separate treatises on the subject, as those of Nipperdey (Rheinisches Museum xviii. 1863, 350–368; xix. 1864, 97–113), Wölfflin (Philologus xxvi. 1867, 134–155), E. Bährens (Miscellanea Critica, 1878, 125–170), Maxa (Progr. des K. K. Staats-Ober-Gymnasiums in Radautz, 1885–7)[3],

[1] See the text and critical notes on c. 1, 4; 3, 1, 2; 4, 4; 5, 3. 4; 6, 1, 5; 10, 4, 6; 11, 3; 15, 5; 16, 5; 17, 1, 2, 3; 19, 5; 20, 3; 21, 3; 22, 4; 24, 2; 28, 2, 3; 31, 5; 32, 4; 34, 3; 35, 2; 36, 3; 37, 4; 38, 1, 2, 5; 39, 3; 41, 3; 42, 3, 5; 43, 2, 3; 44, 1, 2, 4, 5; 45, 1; 46, 1, 4. There are also a few further differences in spelling and punctuation.

[2] The more extreme recent emendators, as J. J. Cornelissen (1881) and A. E. Schoene (1889), have been consulted, but not often quoted.

[3] The three parts in these three years of his 'observationes criticae et exegeticae in Taciti Agricolam,' were unfortunately brought to an end by his death, and only extend to c. 1–15. For the knowledge of their existence, and for an opportunity of studying them, I am indebted to Prof. Gudeman, as also for a sight of the sheets of his own text of the work, now in course of publication.

and Prof. Gudeman (Classical Review xi. 1897, pp. 325–332)[1].

Among the explanatory notes of previous editors I have been most frequently indebted to those of G. Andresen (see above), very often also to those of Wex (see above), and C. Peter (1876), and in various places to those of Kritz (1874), Knaut (1889), and Draeger (1891). Among recent English editions should be mentioned those of Church and Brodribb (1882), R. F. Davis (1892), H. M. Stephenson (1894), and the American edition of W. F. Allen (1885); and among English translations, besides that of the whole of Tacitus by Church and Brodribb, one (of the Agricola and Germania) by Mr. R. B. Townsend (1894), and a very terse and spirited version (of this treatise alone) by an anonymous scholar (Kegan Paul, 1885).

On the language and style generally much help has been derived from Draeger's well-known treatise (' Syntax und Stil des Tacitus,' 1882), and reference is often made to the chapter on the subject in my edition of the Annals (vol. i), where several other works will be found cited.

Among separate works closely bearing on the subject-matter, those used in two chief sections of the Introduction are specified in their places[2]. In the more strictly biographical part I have found much use in two essays by Urlichs[3], and have to acknowledge much information on military matters from two monographs by Hübner and Urlichs[4], also from Konrad

[1] In all of these writers much information will be found as to the critical works of many other scholars not here mentioned.

[2] See note on Introd. pp. 7, 53.

[3] 'De vita et honoribus Agricolae,' and 'de vita et honoribus Taciti' (Würzburg Progr. 1868 and 1879).

[4] On these works, often briefly referred to as 'Heer,' and 'Schlacht,' see p. 48, n. 4.

Panzer's 'Die Eroberung Britanniens durch die Römer bis auf die Statthalterschaft des Agricola' (Bonn, 1882).

The chief study however that has been made in preparing this edition has been that of works bearing on Britain, its people, and its conquest. The amount of literature on this subject is very large, and, though in great part lying outside the scope of an edition of this treatise, embraces much that bears more or less upon it.

In what little had to be said on prehistoric times, I have used Prof. Boyd Dawkins' 'Early man in Britain' (1880), Sir C. Elton's 'Origins of English History' (1882), also Sir J. Evans' works on the Coinage of the ancient Britons (1864, and Supplement 1890), and on the Stone and Bronze periods (1872, and 1881), and some researches on Celtic art by Mr. A. J. Evans[1]. On the Celtic people, and the meanings of Celtic names, I have consulted the 'Celtic Britain' (second ed., 1884) and other works[2] of Prof. Rhys, and the 'Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz[3]' of Alfred Holder. I have also received some kind communications from Prof. Kuno Meyer, of Liverpool.

The works relating to the Roman period are far more numerous, of very various dates, and very different degrees of value, and are often only to be found scattered in antiquarian periodicals. It is much to be regretted that no comprehensive work on Roman Britain as a whole has appeared in modern times in which the results of all these researches could be

[1] See on pp. 33, n. 5; 34, n. 3; and note on c. 24, 2.

[2] See pp. 30, n. 2; 32, n. 2.

[3] The last part published to this date ends at 'Livius.'

brought together, and their value critically estimated. I can only claim to have consulted such as seemed most likely to throw light on points arising out of the narrative of Tacitus. Among these have been J. C. Bruce's great work on the Wall (third ed., 1867), and his Handbook (fourth ed., 1895), the history of Cumberland by Chancellor Ferguson (1890), and that of Northumberland by Mr. C. J. Bates (1895), and for Scotland the surveys of the northern 'vallum' by Horsley (1732) and General Roy (about 1764) [1], also R. Stuart's 'Caledonia Romana' (second ed., 1852), the general history of J. H. Burton (1873), and the 'Celtic Scotland' of Mr. W. F. Skene (1876). On Britain generally I have often been indebted to the information collected by Hübner in the prefatory notes to various sections of C. I. L. vii. I have also to refer to notes on special points by Mr. F. Haverfield [2].

It is to be feared that those who are familiar with the many ingenious attempts made in some of the above and many other works to identify particular sites with the line of march or battle-ground of Agricola will be disappointed to find them unnoticed in these pages: but it has been my chief aim to show how little support any theories of the kind can derive from the narrative of Tacitus or from other corroborative evidence, and to make it plain that it is only in the barest outline that Agricola's campaigns are traceable [3].

I had hoped to make this volume a counterpart in its scale and mode of treatment to that on the Germania,

[1] This work was not published till after the author's death in 1793.

[2] See pp. 41, n. 8; 53, n. 3; note on c. 24, 1. His map of Roman Britain, in the Oxford Historical Atlas of Modern Europe, has also been often used.

[3] See Introd. pp. 39, 47, &c.

and feel obliged to offer an apology for its comparative excess in bulk. This has been partly due to the greater space required to deal with the corruptions and other difficulties of the text, which are proportionally much more numerous than in any other work of Tacitus [1]. There has also been much difference in the treatment of the subject-matter of the two treatises by previous editors.

The general questions raised by the Germania have naturally been pursued with the keenest interest by great German writers, whose views have been made known to all students of the work by its leading editors. An edition for English readers is thus able to limit itself to concise statements of the principal results, with further reference to generally accessible works.

The Agricola has fared far otherwise. In some departments, as those of textual criticism and theories as to the purpose of the treatise, great and even excessive labour has been expended [2], but the greater part of the subject-matter has been naturally left by Germans to Englishmen. English editors again, mostly aiming at a clear and concise commentary for school purposes, have been unable to enter into questions of archaeology or topography; and the speculations of experts on these subjects have not been sufficiently tested by comparison with what Tacitus has told us or has failed to tell. It has thus been the case that even such limited review of these

[1] See Introd. sect. 1.

[2] Wex (Prol. 219–223) enumerates upwards of eighty editions or translations of or monographs on this treatise, down to 1850, exclusive of the editions of the whole of Tacitus, and the list would now be very largely increased. Most of the monographs bear on the points above mentioned.

problems as I have here attempted has had to be written with hardly any assistance from previous editors. This will, it is hoped, excuse both the length to which it has extended and the shortcomings which cannot fail to appear in it.

It will readily be believed from what has been above stated, that this work has cost more labour in proportion than any other part of Tacitus which I have edited; but the time will have been well spent if I have been able to give more substantial assistance to students of so unique a specimen of ancient literature, and one of such exceptional interest to English readers.

OXFORD:
February, 1898.

INTRODUCTION

SECTION I.

HISTORY OF THE TEXT.

THE account to be given under this head is brief and very unsatisfactory. The compilers of the 'editio princeps' of Tacitus [1] did not include the Agricola in their collection, and were no doubt unaware of its existence; but one or more MSS. of it must have been either already known or discovered soon afterwards at Rome, from which Julius Pomponius Laetus [2] made a transcript, to be bound up with and complete the printed edition. His authorship is attested by Fulvio Orsini [3], from whom the MS. passed to the Vatican Library (Catal.

[1] That of Vendelin de Spira, published at Venice, probably in 1470.

[2] This eminent scholar of the Renaissance (cir. 1428–1498) was the founder of the Roman Academy at that period. Some account of him will be found in J. A. Symonds, 'Revival of Learning,' pp. 359, foll. This MS. has no date, and may have been written at any time between the date of the 'editio princeps' and the death of Laetus. Some have thought that it must have been written before the Agricola was printed by Puteolanus, but it may have been due to a desire to preserve a better text than that of his edition.

[3] A note on the MS. says: 'Cornelio Tacito della Vita d' Agricola, scritto di mano di Pomponio Laeto, ligato dietro al Tacito stampato. Ful. Urs.' Fulvio Orsini (1529–1600) was librarian to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, and a scholar and collector of note. He left a considerable collection of MSS. to the Vatican Library.

No. 3429) and is here quoted as Γ[1]. It is written on paper, with much apparent care, and is further enriched by many interlinear and marginal corrections, the value of which it is somewhat difficult to estimate. In three cases only has he expressly given a conjecture of his own, distinguished by the words 'puto,' or 'sic legendum puto[2].' In about nineteen other cases he adds to the correction 'al' (probably for 'aliter'), which might in some cases mean that the exemplar could also be so read[3], in most others might refer (as Wex thinks) to the reading of another MS., or (as is more generally thought) to conjectures which he wished to distinguish from his own as those of others[4]. The remainder, comprising the larger part of the corrections, are given without any distinguishing mark. In several of them, where the corrected reading agrees with that of the other MS., he is probably only rectifying upon revision the errors of the pen in his own original transcript[5]: the others are thought to be probably reproductions without comment of similar interlineations or marginal notes in the exemplar before him. It is not therefore necessary to suppose that his transcript was made from more than one MS.

It is no doubt an advantage to have the work before us of so distinguished a scholar as Laetus; and although in some cases he may have followed his original less closely than an unlearned scribe would have done[6], his transcription remains and must remain our chief authority for the text.

Only one other MS. (here designated as Δ), also preserved in the Vatican (No. 4498), is in existence. It is assigned to much the same date as Γ, the latter part of the fifteenth century, and is a parchment MS. containing several short treatises by various authors, among them also the Germania and 'Dialogus,' and, though rarely thought worth quoting by editors of those works, has to be taken more account of in

[1] I have not followed Andresen, Halm, and others in designating the two MSS. of the Agricola as A and B, lest they should be confused with other MSS. so designated of the Germania and Dialogus.

[2] See c. 28, 3; 34, 2; 3. In two other places (c. 42, 1; 43, 2) he has added 's. l.' ('sic lego') to note that he so reads his exemplar.

[3] e.g. 'Trutu. Al.' for 'trucculensem' in c. 38, 5.

[4] Most of them seem to have the character of conjectures (though Wex thinks otherwise): in some of them valuable emendations are thus introduced; e.g. c. 19, 4; 42, 5; 45, 1. Müller notes that the last of these appears not to be a conjecture of Laetus, as it has the form 'Mauricium,' while his own index has 'Mauricus.'

[5] In the critical notes I have usually not noticed these, but have taken the corrected text only to be his.

[6] As for instance in the matter of spelling, mentioned below.

the Agricola for want of better. Though very neatly written, it is considerably below Γ in critical value by reason of its many omissions and other faults of carelessness [1], though certainly giving a better text in some places, and, as a general rule, preserving a mode of spelling more in accordance with that of the MSS. of other works of Tacitus [2].

The general agreement of the text of these MSS., especially their reproduction of the same corrupt passages, makes it probable that they are both transcripts of the same, and the discrepancies may generally be taken as errors, sometimes of Laetus, but much oftener of the other scribe; the differences of spelling being probably due to the fact that the latter copied more closely what he found, while Laetus used forms more in accordance with the mode prevalent among scholars of his day.

Unfortunately, neither scribe has given us a single word of information respecting the exemplar followed by him, and on this important question we must be content to remain in perpetual darkness [3].

Two other sources which have been sometimes referred to as of authority for the text may be briefly noticed.

The earliest printed text, that of Franciscus Puteolanus [4], differs considerably from both our MSS. He speaks of his work as done 'adiuvante Berardino Lanterio, omnium Mediolanensium doctissimo'; but his text of the Agricola, though containing several such emendations as might suggest themselves to a scholar, differs from the MSS. on the whole for the worse, and has been a source of many errors [5].

[1] Many of these are collected by Wex (p. 7, notes 1–4) and others will be seen in the critical notes passim.

[2] Several of these are collected by Wex (p. 11, note 1). Thus in words compounded of 'ad' Γ assimilates, and Δ does not; Δ has the accusative forms gentis, hostis, &c., Γ the forms in 'es'; but neither MS. is always consistent. On the other hand Δ has usually 'nec' where Γ has 'neque.'

[3] Ritter (Praef. xxv) thinks he traces indications that it used abbreviations similar to those of the First Medicean of the Annals; others have thought that it was probably not very much older than the transcripts.

[4] Puteolanus printed the Agricola three times: (1) in his 'Panegyrici veteres et Petronius,' a quarto volume published without date or title, probably at Milan; (2) in his general edition of Tacitus, also published at Milan without date or title; (3) his second edition, 'Venetiis per Philippum Pinci: sumptibus domini Benedicti Fontana.' March 22, A.D. 1497. Wex has carefully compared them, cites them as π^1, π^2, π^3, and thus arranges them. (1) and (2) date about 1480, but their exact year is much disputed, and some make (2) the earliest.

[5] Some current forms of names, as 'Mons Grampius,' 'Horesti,' rest on no other authority, and may be mere errors of the scribe or printer. Many other errors are noted passim: see also Wex, p. 15.

It is thought most probable that it was printed from a careless transcript of the same MS. from which Γ was copied, and that it has no independent value.

The other supposed authority is that of Fulvio Orsini, who, in a volume containing miscellaneous critical notes on several authors [1], gives some forty pages to Tacitus, and, of the minor works, deals chiefly with the Agricola. Several of his emendations are expressly offered as his own, others as conjectures of Danesius; but for others the authority of a 'v. c.' ('vetus codex') is cited. Two editors of Cicero, Orelli and Madvig, suspect him of inventing such 'codices' whenever it suited his purpose [2]; but as regards Tacitus there seems to be no reason to question his good faith [3]. As to the Agricola, he certainly possessed the MS. of Pomponius Laetus [4], which though hardly 'vetus,' was about one hundred years old at that date, and the greater part of his citations might certainly have been taken from its body or margin; yet even in these he hardly seems to cite from it [5], and there are certainly about four places in which he cites from some source wholly outside our present MS. knowledge [6]. But in these and in all other places we have no means of knowing what his source really was, nor whether, supposing that he is quoting MSS. unknown to us, he is quoting from his own knowledge or from secondhand and perhaps inaccurate information, nor have the citations generally such intrinsic value as to make them in themselves of any great importance [7].

[1] 'Fragmenta Historicorum collecta ab Antonio Augustino, emendata a Fulvio Ursino. Fulvii Ursini notae ad Sallustium, Caesarem, Livium, Velleium, Tacitum, Suetonium, Spartianum, et alios.' Antwerp, 1595. The 'notae' have nothing to do with the 'Fragmenta' which precede them.

[2] See Wex, Prolegomena, p. 12.

[3] In the six first Books of the Annals, he cites 'exulem egerit' (1. 4, 4), the genuine reading of the First Medicean, of which he appears to have had a transcript; in the later Books of the Annals and the Histories he gives several such citations of a 'v. c.,' which could probably be traced to one or another of the inferior MSS of those Books; in the 'Dialogus' his only citation is the actual reading of several MSS. ('Vibanius' in c. 14, 1). This would lead us to believe that such citations in the Agricola as we cannot verify are also genuine.

[4] See above, p. 1.

[5] He does not distinguish in any way between the original and corrected readings of Laetus, or between those in the body of the MS. and those in the margin, which suggest that he is quoting some MS. which contained in the body of the text the readings given as interlinear or marginal corrections by Laetus.

[6] See critical notes on c. 3, 3; 7, 1; 44, 5; 46, 2. All the readings cited from him in the critical notes are those given by him from his 'v. c.'

[7] Of those mentioned above, the first gives the right reading and the second

Besides the disadvantage arising from the paucity and inferiority of its MSS., the text of this treatise has suffered from their having been for a long time neglected. Subsequent editors were content to reproduce the text of Puteolanus with such conjectural emendations as suggested themselves[1]; and the MSS. were never fully consulted[2] till the edition of Wex (Brunswick, 1852), whose text, established on a careful and full collation of them, has formed the basis of all subsequent textual criticism[3].

Still, when all that is possible has been done much corruption remains, and it can hardly be matter of surprise that the text of this treatise has become the happy hunting-ground of a host of emendators[4], and that the difficulties of scholarship are greater in it than in any other part of the works of Tacitus.

SECTION II.

LIFE OF TACITUS TO THE DATE OF THE AGRICOLA.

The date of this work can be approximately determined from internal evidence, though not with such exactness as that of the Germania.

The passage in c. 3, 1, in which Nerva is stated to have blended things formerly so incompatible as monarchy and freedom, and Trajan to be daily increasing the happiness of the age, is thought to have been written when the former (who, if dead, would naturally have been called 'Divus[5]') was still living, and when the latter was already adopted as his son and associated with him as 'collega imperii' and 'consors tribuniciae potestatis[6],' that is in the time between the end of October, A.D. 97, and January 27, A.D. 98. But this argument

suggests it, and the latter could hardly be a conjecture, but the third and fourth do not seem to be of value.

[1] Many of his errors were corrected by Rhenanus and Lipsius, whose conjectures often restored the real MS. text.

[2] Some use had been made of them in the editions of Brotier (1771) and Dronke (1824 and 1844).

[3] The fullest and most accurate later collation is that in the edition by C. L. Urlichs (Würzburg, 1865), which I have followed, and which contains much that I had not space to notice.

[4] In order to reduce the critical notes to moderate dimensions, I have felt obliged to notice only a small proportion of the emendations which the ingenuity of these numerous critics has suggested.

[5] He is so called in H. 1. 1, 5; but that the title is not always given, even in public utterances, may be seen from Plin. Pan. 7; 8; 10; where he is mentioned once with the title, and five times without it.

[6] See Plin. Pan. 8.

is hardly conclusive, and on the other hand more stress is to be laid on the fact that in c. 44, 5, Trajan is spoken of as 'princeps.' Taking the two passages together, we should suppose the work to have been perhaps mainly written in the lifetime of Nerva, but completed and published soon after the accession of Trajan[1], probably in the same year as the Germania (98), but perhaps before that work.

Tacitus was born, apparently of an equestrian family, probably not earlier than A.D. 50 nor later than A.D. 55[2]. He was brought up to the forensic profession, was admitted in youth to the society of the great orators and men of letters of the time[3], and was probably a pupil of Quintilian. In A.D. 77 or 78 he became the son-in-law of Agricola[4], and at about the same date began his political career, receiving successive steps by the favour of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian[5], under the latter of whom he had become praetor and 'quindecimvir sacris faciendis' in A.D. 88[6]. Up to this time his life had been spent in Rome, where we find from his friend, the younger Pliny[7], that he had reached an extremely high position among the orators of the day, and was one of the leaders of the Roman bar. Soon after his praetorship, some appointment, probably the governorship of a Caesarian province of the second rank[8], removed him from Rome for four years (A.D. 89 or 90–93), during which time the death of his father-in-law took place[9]. On his return to Rome he received no further favour from Domitian, though he does not appear to have shown more independence than the mass of senators. To Nerva he was indebted for the consulship, which he held either in the lifetime of that prince in A.D. 97, or by his designation, immediately after his death, in A.D. 98[10]. He was thus in the high position of consul designate, actual consul, or consular at the publication of this treatise.

[1] The apparent description of Trajan as if he were already present and directing the government in Rome would, if pressed, point to a date in or after the middle of A.D. 99; but he may well have been previously credited with the system carried on either in his sole name or possibly even as associated with Nerva.

[2] For the evidence of this and for other biographical details, see Introd. to Annals, i. pp. 1–4.

[3] See Dial. 1, 2.

[4] c. 9, 7.

[5] H. 1. 1, 4.

[6] A. 11. 11, 3.

[7] See Epp. 7. 20, 4, &c.

[8] These were Galatia, Pamphylia, Lusitania, and the 'tres Galliae.' He is less likely to have been a 'legatus legionis' in one of the greater provinces.

[9] See c. 45, 3–5, and notes.

[10] The date of his consulship is fixed by that of the death of Verginius Rufus (Plin. Epp. 2. 1, 6), who is thought by most to have died in A.D. 97, but by Asbach and Urlichs to have lived till A.D. 98.

SECTION III.

PURPOSE OF THE TREATISE.

Note.—In this section I have consulted the treatises on the subject by Gantrelle, 'Revue de l'Instruction publique en Belgique,' 1870 (published separately in a German version, Berlin, 1873), and Andresen, 'Entstehung und Tendenz des T. Agr.,' Berlin, 1874; also Urlichs, 'De vita et honoribus Taciti,' Würzburg, 1879; Asbach, in 'Historisches Taschenbuch,' Leipzig, 1886, and Boissier, 'L'Opposition sous les Césars,' pp. 317 foll. Urlichs cites several other treatises by E. Hoffmann, Stahr, Hirzel, Junghans, Jäger, Eussner, and Güthling.

It has been already stated[1] that the appearance of this work almost simultaneously with one so different as the Germania, suggests a purpose partly common to both, and partly peculiar to each: and that as regards the first head, it must be borne in mind that Tacitus, however eminent as a pleader and orator, was probably as yet very little known as a writer[2], and altogether unknown in the field of study to which he had formed the intention of devoting himself. He was already engaged in the composition of a great work on his own times, which ultimately appeared as his 'Historiae[3],' and might well have desired to prepare the way by something on a less ambitious scale, and to win the interest of his readers for his greater effort and for the political ideas inspiring it[4].

Supposing some such general considerations, and the example of Sallust, to have led him to compose and publish historical monographs, the selection of a biographical subject would have been recommended to him by many illustrious examples[5], nor could any life have been so obviously appropriate as that of one who had filled so large a space in his generation, and was so closely connected with himself.

Thus much we might have supposed on general grounds, if the treatise itself had not survived to us; but the study of its contents and tone suggests other considerations, and has given rise to various views as to its purpose.

[1] Introd. to Germania, p. 4.

[2] The 'Dialogus,' assuming it to be his, is the only known work which he had previously published.

[3] See c. 3, 3, and note.

[4] That he is here bespeaking indulgence by anticipation for his larger work, is seen from the language used (l. l.) and from what is said of the fifteen years' silence, and the crushing effect of despotism on literature.

[5] See c. 1, 1; 2, 1.

Hübner[1] seems to stand almost alone in thinking that Tacitus, who was precluded by absence from delivering a 'laudatio funebris' over his father-in-law, composed this treatise in the form of such an address, and to supply the place of it. It is manifest that a very large part of the work as it stands would be altogether outside the scope of such a composition, and, if all this be set aside as added afterwards, we have nothing left in favour of such a supposition except that some passages, such as the conclusion, especially the apostrophe in which the dead is addressed as if present[2], would have been very appropriate to such an occasion.

The other leading views fall into two main divisions; the one section holding that with the biography proper is coupled an historical fragment taken out of the larger work then in course of composition and published separately; others, that it is, at least in considerable part, a political pamphlet, intended to defend Agricola and, by implication, Tacitus himself against those who assailed their compliance under the tyranny of Domitian.

These views are not inconsistent with each other; and some combination and modification of them may probably bring us as near the truth as we can get.

It has been shown, in the Introduction to the Germania, that it may very possibly have been an historical excursus enlarged into a monograph, and worked up and published at this particular time for political reasons; but the case of this treatise is not altogether parallel. The Germania in the form in which we have it must have far exceeded the proportion which any excursus in his historical work could occupy, and must either have been altogether omitted or abridged, or preserved by being thus separately published. The only part of the Agricola that would strictly correspond to such an excursus is the geographical and ethnological portion (c. 10–12); and it is no doubt possible enough that this may have been composed for insertion in the larger work and withdrawn from it on reconsideration as appearing less suitable to it[3]. But most of the remaining British

[1] See his treatise in Hermes, i, 1866 pp. 438–448.

[2] c. 45, 3–46, 2.

[3] The advance made in Britain under the Flavian emperors, though called a completion of its conquest ('perdomita,' H. 1. 2, 3), was not so permanent in results as to constitute a great era, the narrative of which could appropriately be prefaced by such a sketch of the country and people as that prefixed to the relation of the great Jewish war. The proper place for such a sketch would have been as an introduction to

history appearing in this treatise could only have been taken out of the Histories to be put into them again under some other form. The achievements not only of Agricola, but also of Cerialis and Frontinus[1], must have been there related on a scale proportionate to their importance[2], and so broken up into periods as best to secure due attention to them[3]; those of Agricola being no doubt especially emphasized and made prominent, as the great success of a time marked elsewhere by military incapacity and disaster[4]: also, as the Annals did not then exist, some prefatory sketch of the previous progress made in the subjection of the island might very appropriately have been prefixed. There is in fact no other reason for believing this part of the Agricola to be an historical fragment torn from its place and pieced out with a biographical prelude (c. 4–9) and conclusion (c. 39–46)[5], than that it is somewhat sharply marked off, and occupies a large proportionate space; both of which facts seem sufficiently explained if we bear in mind that Agricola's achievements here are the central period of his life, and the one ground for enrolling him among great men; while the previous history is also either that of events in which he had a subordinate share[6], or explains the state of things with which he had to deal, and even the account of the island and its people is a description of the theatre of his

the narrative of the first occupation under Claudius, which Tacitus appears to have had as yet no intention of writing. In Ann. 4. 33, 3, the 'situs gentium' are enumerated among the proper subjects of history.

[1] The government of Trebellius Maximus and Vettius Bolanus is spoken of in the extant part (H. 1. 60; 2. 65, 4; 97, 1), and perhaps received no further notice.

[2] As an illustration, it may be noticed that the account of the rising of Boudicca, though given here more fully than any other part not belonging to the proper subject, is treated again in its place in the Annals on a much larger scale, and with no allusion to this previous version of it.

[3] In the Annals, the British history under Claudius was treated in at least two separate places (in the lost portion, and in 12. 31–40), that under Nero in one only (14. 29–39). In the Histories, the achievements of Cerialis and Frontinus all occurred under Vespasian, and may have been related in one place. Those of Agricola fell under all the three Flavian emperors, and were probably more broken up in relation. That the whole narrative, as we have it here, extending, as it does, over nearly half the period covered by the Histories, was intended, as Andresen thinks, to be inserted in one place, seems only possible on the supposition that the original project of that work was planned on a far smaller scale than that on which it ultimately appeared (see note on c. 3, 3).

[4] See on c. 39, 2; 41, 2.

[5] This is substantially the view taken by Andresen (pp. 6–9, &c.), and apparently also by Hirzel.

[6] See c. 5 and 8. We can thus perhaps explain the comparative fullness with which the rising of Boudicca is treated, and the greater prominence given to Cerialis than to Frontinus.

exploits[1]. The strong resemblance to Sallust also suggests that the work was composed as a whole, and on a definite plan, with the Jugurtha and Catiline before the author's mind[2].

We can hardly then say more than that the material must have been furnished from the same sources as that of the larger work, and was probably recast and adapted to a biographical purpose by suppressing or curtailing the mention of other actors in it and selecting for prominence the points in which the direct action of the general was most evident[3].

It is also plain from several significant passages that, as was seen in the case of the Germania[4], a political purpose clearly forms part of the writer's aim, and had probably led to the completion and publication of the biography at that particular time. It is professedly brought out in anticipation of the larger work ('interim),' and as an act of 'pietas'[5]; it being plain in many places that Agricola was regarded by Tacitus as an underrated man. It is probable that his achievements in Britain, though rewarded by 'triumphalia[6],' had been meagrely mentioned in the official communication of the emperor to the senate, and that Tacitus was the first to represent them in what he rightly or wrongly believed to be their true light and proper magnitude.

There were no doubt those also who cherished against him a deeper and more vindictive feeling. The repression of opinion

[1] These points are well argued by Gantrelle.

[2] On these resemblances to Sallust, see below, p. 16.

[3] The personality of Agricola is very prominent throughout, and the qualities displayed by him are constantly made conspicuous; see especially c. 18, 6–7; 19, 1–3; 20, 2; 21, 1; 22, 2–5; 24, 3; 27, 3; 29, 1; 39, 1. Too much stress must not be laid on this, as the same characteristic appears in military narratives in the greater works, notably in those of the campaigns of Germanicus and Corbulo (see Annals, Vol. i. Introd. p. 17; Vol. ii. Introd. pp. 113, 114); but such a purely domestic incident as that of the death of his son (c. 29, 1) would assuredly find no place in a general history, as the death of his mother and his first accession to Vespasian (c. 7, 1–2), find none in the extant part of the Histories, and his military tribuneship in the great crisis under Paulinus, his quaestorship of Asia and tribunate of the people find none in the Annals. Also, though the historian's habit of concentrating the chief interest of a whole period into the description of a great battle, with a prelude of speeches, is certainly evident elsewhere (cf. Ann. 2. 12–18; 12. 33–35; 14. 34–37), it is more especially prominent here; and we should not expect in a general history such very brief mention of the operations of other years, or of such an important event as the circumnavigation (c. 38, 5). For the mention of an event so wholly outside biography as the episode of the Usipi (c. 28), perhaps other explanation can be given (see note there).

[4] Introd. to Germania, p. 6.

[5] c. 3, 4.

[6] c. 40, 1.

under Domitian had been followed at his death by a strong reaction. As men had said twenty-six years previously, 'the best day after a bad emperor is the first[1].' Nerva had proclaimed full freedom[2]; exiles were everywhere recalled[3], and came back full of vindictive feelings against the tools of the tyranny under which they had suffered. Even unaggressive men like Pliny sought to win fame by accusing accusers[4], and Nerva had to interfere to restrain the thirst for vengeance[5]. In this excited state of feeling even the moderate politicians could not hope to escape at least censure and depreciation, and to this body Agricola and Tacitus belonged. Such men, the more ardent spirits would proclaim, had been passive supporters, if not aiders and abettors, of these acts of tyranny: men would remember their silence, their submissive acquiescence. Agricola had been tribune at the time of the trial of Thrasea[6], and had shown no such generous impulse as Arulenus Rusticus[7]. He had served Domitian in Britain when he had a great army and might have set up the standard of revolt like Antonius Saturninus[8]. After his return to Rome, his eight years of non-resistance, or (as they would put it) of servile acquiescence in the senate[9], his conduct in relation to his proconsulate, his nomination of the emperor as coheir in his will (a degradation which it would be pointed out that bolder spirits had spurned[10]), would all be matter of invective. Nor would the son-in-law be without his share of censure. He had owed to Domitian a praetorship, a priesthood, the governorship of a province[11], he had been at Rome as a senator during the last and worst years of the reign of terror and had been no bolder than those around him.

We can plainly see that we have in many parts of this treatise a political manifesto in praise of moderation, and a vindication, expressly of Agricola, and (by implication) of the writer himself from the charge of servility and want of true public spirit and patriotism.

As regards Agricola, he would show that his self-restraint and moderation were not put on for a purpose, but lifelong, and part of

[1] H. 4. 42, 9. In describing the whole scene in the senate at that date Tacitus has probably in mind the similar state of things so clearly fixed in his memory.

[2] c. 3, 1.

[3] Dio 68. 1, 2.

[4] Ep. 9. 13, 2.

[5] Dio 68. 1, 3. Cp. his protection of some informers, as Veiento (Pl. Ep. 4. 22, 4).

[6] See c. 6, 3, and note.

[7] He was also tribune, and had made a private offer to Thrasea to interpose his veto in the senate.

[8] See Suet. Dom. 6.

[9] On these years see below, pp. 55–58.

[10] See the case of L. Vetus, A. 16. 11, 3.

[11] See above, p. 6. His obligation to Domitian is admitted in H. 1. 1, 4.

his very nature. In his youth he had followed his mother's prudent counsel, and checked his ardour for philosophy, so as to know when to stop, to imbibe culture without fanaticism, and not to make a public career impossible to him[1]. Though his 'tirocinium' in military life falls in with the great British rebellion, he is content, without seeking notice, to learn his duty and discharge it zealously[2]. He preserves his self-control under the temptations of a wealthy and corrupting quaestorship[3] (as afterwards under the commission entrusted to him by Galba[4]), accepts the rôle of an inactive tribunate and praetorship[5], is moderate, though not mean, in the expenditure on his games in the latter office[6]: he shows his tact as legatus of a semi-mutinous legion in Britain, preferring to let it be thought that he had found his men loyal than that he had made them so[7]: avoids setting himself in invidious contrast with the sluggish rule of Bolanus[8], and wins fame by claiming none in the exploits of Cerialis[9]: as governor of Aquitania he is able to be courteous and affable without sacrifice of dignity or strictness, and stands aloof, self-respecting and self-controlled, from the jealousy of colleagues and intrigues of procurators[10]. In private life he shows the same even temperament; the unbroken harmony of his married life is due to mutual concessions[11]; at a later date on the loss of his infant son he shows neither effeminate grief nor ostentatious Stoicism[12]. In all these manifold relations his character is conceived as forming and unfolding itself, though more fully realized in a greater sphere of action.

The same disposition is kept before us in the narrative of his British campaigns. After the success, considerable as it was, of his first year, 'it was by suppressing his glory that that glory was increased[13]': we are told of his unostentatious work in keeping his own household from becoming tools of corruption and tyranny[14], in redressing grievances[15], holding out inducements to peace[16], taking on himself much of the work left by other generals to subordinates[17], yet giving those subordinates full credit for all duties done by them[18], neither yielding to timid counsels[19], nor condescending to vie with the braggarts who talked loudly in the hour of success[20], even keeping from

[1] c. 4, 4–5. [2] c. 5, 2–4. [3] c. 6, 2. [4] c. 6, 5.
[5] c. 6, 3. [6] c. 6, 4. [7] c. 7, 5–6. [8] c. 8, 1.
[9] c. 8, 2–3. [10] c. 9, 5. [11] c. 6, 1. [12] c. 29, 1.
[13] c. 18, 7. [14] c. 19, 2. [15] c. 19, 4–5. [16] c. 21, 1–3.
[17] c. 20, 2. [18] c. 22, 4. [19] c. 25, 3. [20] c. 27, 2.

all grandiloquence in the dispatches announcing his last and greatest victory [1].

Tacitus would thus show him to have been from first to last the same man whose unobtrusiveness in his later years at Rome enabled few to understand his reputation, and made many ask incredulously what he had done to be talked of [2]. The latter question is answered by the record of his achievements; and the great deeds which his modesty had left to speak for themselves are set forth as amounting to a completion of conquest, however subsequent neglect had left the results to slip away [3].

It is by these achievements that he is to be distinguished decisively from other so-called moderates, whose chief praise was that they had done no harm [4], and whose reputation for innocence was won only by their inaction [5]. A position is claimed for him among the foremost soldiers of his age, from whom again he is marked off by a more balanced mind and purer qualities, as a Corbulo without his vain-gloriousness or jealousy [6], a Cerialis without his carelessness [7], a Suetonius Paulinus without his cruelty [8].

But the more his achievements are dwelt upon, the more would his biographer imply that the self-effacement of his later years was made necessary. Even with all his unobtrusiveness, the informers hovered like vultures about his path, and made several attempts to fasten on him [9]. His mere existence 'pointed too close a contrast to opposite characters [10],' and his death was so obvious a relief that scandal-mongers flew to the supposition of foul play [11]. Without alluding to himself, the language of Tacitus would imply that even with self-restraint, no person of rank was altogether safe [12]; that those who menaced Agricola would gladly also have assailed his relatives, that

[1] c. 39, 1. [2] c. 40, 4.

[3] c. 10, 1: cp. 'perdomita Britannia et statim missa,' H. 1. 2, 3.

[4] Cp. the description of Galba's 'medium ingenium, magis extra vitia quam cum virtutibus' (H. 1. 49, 4).

[5] So Hordeonius Flaccus is described (H. 1. 56, 1) as 'pavidus, segnis, et socordia innocens,' and Galba as having achieved that 'quod segnitia erat, sapientia vocaretur' (H. 1. 49, 6). In one place (c. 6, 3) Agricola seems ranked with such, as 'gnarus sub Nerone temporum, quibus inertia pro sapientia fuit,' but only as regards the routine duties of a tribune of the people.

[6] On these defects in Corbulo, see Annals, Vol. ii. Introd. p. 121, &c.

[7] See H. 5. 22, 4; 23, 4.

[8] See Ann. 14. 38, 4.

[9] c. 41. 1.

[10] Cp. 'etiam gloria et virtus infensos habet, ut nimis ex propinquo diversa arguens' (Ann. 4. 33, 6).

[11] c. 43, 2.

[12] In Plin. Pan. 90, the author speaks of himself and Cornutus Tertullus as imperilled.

the son-in-law had also to bear his burden in enforced silence and restriction of social intercourse [1]. He would bid men further remember that virtue, scarce enough at any time, is hardest to find when it is least appreciated, when its description has to be prefaced by apology [2], and has to face the misrepresentations of rancour, that more insidious enemy of truth than flattery [3].

Nor is Tacitus satisfied to write an apologetic biography. On the contrary, he carries the war into the enemy's country, draws a political moral from the character which he has painted, and defends by a great example others of similar disposition who 'did not invite renown and ruin by defiance and empty assumption of freedom [4].' He bids 'those whose habit it is to admire forbidden ideals to learn that great men can live under bad princes, and that obedience and self-control, when they are joined to capacity for work and energy, can reach as high a pinnacle of fame as that of those who tread the path of peril, and owe their glory, without any service rendered to their country, to a theatrical and ostentatious death.'

The asperity of the attack may be inferred from that of the reply, and from the censure, even approaching to invective, used against those whose failings he elsewhere touches with a far gentler hand [5], and whose deaths, when he comes to describe them [6], are surrounded with the halo of heroism.

However time and a wider historical view may have afterwards modified his judgement, and made him feel that the staunchness of the Stoic opposition had borne good fruit and that the blood of martyrs had been the seed of freedom, nevertheless in all his writings it is to moderate men that his most unstinted praise is given, to such as Manius Lepidus [7], Memmius Regulus [8], Julius Frontinus [9], and others who served their country well in trying times, who accepted

[1] c. 2, 3; 3, 2. [2] See c. 1, 3.

[3] Cp. 'malignitati falsa species libertatis inest' (H. 1. 1, 3).

[4] c. 42, 4, 5.

[5] It is rather as a defect in good men that he notices the desire of fame sometimes amounting to vanity, in Helvidius (H. 4. 6, 1), Thrasea (A. 14. 49, 5, &c.), and Arulenus Rusticus (A. 16. 26, 6). See Ann. Vol. i. Introd. p. 28, note 11, and on the Stoicism of the period generally, Ann. Vol. ii. Introd. p. 83, foll.

[6] See Ann. 16. 21–35.

[7] See the interesting remarks (Ann. 4. 20, 5) on those who would say that such a man was only saved by his destiny. Less eminent men of the same type under Tiberius were L. Piso, the city praefect (Ann. 6. 10, 3), and Poppaeus Sabinus, who was 'par negotiis neque supra' (Ann. 6. 39, 3).

[8] He is described (Ann. 14. 47, 1) as 'auctoritate, constantia, fama, in quantum praeumbrante imperatoris fastigio datur, clarus.'

[9] 'Vir magnus, quantum licebat' (c. 17, 2).

monarchical government as inevitable[1], and 'prayed for good emperors but made the best of such as they had[2],' instead of either haughtily standing aloof from public life, and taking philosophy as a fine name to veil their indolence[3], or committing themselves to an opposition so uncompromising as to be unable even to bear the rule of Vespasian[4].

He might have pointed his lesson by other illustrious examples, some of which, too august for mention, would no doubt have occurred to his readers. If Agricola and Tacitus had bent before the storm, so had not only Vestricius Spurinna and Verginius Rufus, but even Nerva and Trajan. He is content, it seems, to be sheltered behind the senate, whom his language couples with himself, no less than himself with them[5]. The guilt of revered members of their own body dragged by their own hands to prison, at any rate that of innocent blood shed by servile sentences, rested more or less on all, probably on not a few of his accusers, and all alike were open to the retort that they were 'members of a senate who had all been slaves together[6].'

SECTION IV.

LANGUAGE AND STYLE.

On this head, so much as is common to this treatise and the Germania has been already stated[7] and may here be briefly repeated. Both have this in common, that, being nearly intermediate in time between the probable date of the 'Dialogus' and that of the Annals, they are strongly distinguished from both, and show also, as compared with the nearly contemporary Histories, the transitional style of an historian who had earned his fame as an orator, and who in that capacity preserves still some personal leaning to the ancient classical models,

[1] Cp. the words attributed to Galba in adopting an heir (H. 1. 16, 1).

[2] The sentiment put into the mouth of the unworthy Eprius Marcellus (H. 4. 8, 3), 'bonos imperatores voto expetere, qualescunque tolerare,' may well have been felt by better men.

[3] 'Ut nomine magnifico segne otium velaret' (H. 4. 5, 2). The dreamy philosopher, who preaches to men armed for civil war, is ridiculed in Musonius Rufus (H. 3. 81, 1).

[4] The 'ambitiosa mors' in his mind (c. 42, 5) is probably, above all, that of Helvidius under this prince.

[5] Cp. the use of 'nos' and 'nostrae manus' (c. 45, 1).

[6] This home thrust 'se unum ex illo senatu esse, qui simul servierit,' is also put into the mouth of Marcellus (H. 4. 8, 5).

[7] See Introduction to Germania, p. 8.

though on the whole following the fashion of a time which required its pleaders to be terse, epigrammatic, and striking, tolerant of Graecisms [1], and enriching their phraseology by words newly invented or borrowed from the treasury of classical poetry.

It has also been noticed that these two treatises represent the writer's Sallustian [2], as does the 'Dialogus' his Ciceronian period, and that the example of Sallust may probably have chiefly induced him to pave the way for a larger work by the separate publication of historical monographs.

As regards this treatise, it has been pointed out [3] that the general plan of composition shows resemblances both to that of the Catilina and Jugurtha which can hardly be accidental. All three works begin with a preface (c. 1–3; Cat. 1–4; Jug. 1–4), in which, notwithstanding all differences of circumstances and subject, not a few resemblances of tone and sentiment are observable. Then we have in each a biographical sketch of the early career of the principal person (c. 4–9; Cat. 5, and 15–19; Jug. 7–16); the description of Britain with which the central part of the narrative is prefaced has its counterpart in that of Africa (Jug. 17–19); this main narrative is broken here and there by a digression or episode (c. 24; 28; Cat. 38–39; Jug. 41–42; 78–79), and a considerable portion of it is devoted to speeches (c. 30–34; Cat. 51–52; 58; Jug. 85; 102; 110) and to a full account of the decisive battle (c. 35–38; Cat. 59–60; Jug. 101); the conclusion of our treatise being the only part in which no such resemblance of plan seems traceable. The last chapters indeed show clear traces of another model. This work, though virtually contemporary with the Germania, may probably have been written earlier of the two, and is so far a connecting-link with the 'Dialogus' as to present in its epilogue a Ciceronian element [4] for which the Germania has no counterpart.

A comparison of syntactical usages shows that many of those most

[1] The Graecisms here are rather more than in the Germania, but generally such as may be found in earlier Latin, as the so-called dative absolute 'transgressis' (c. 10, 4), 'aestimanti' (c. 11, 3), &c.; such expressions as 'in aperto' (c. 1, 2; 33, 4), 'famam circumdedit' (c. 20, 1), 'ex aequo' (c. 20, 3), 'in hoc campo est' (c. 32, 5), 'ceterorum fugacissimi' (c. 34, 1).

[2] Introd. to Germania, p. 5.

[3] See Urlichs ('De vita et honoribus Taciti,' progr. Würzburg, 1879), who follows Eussner (Jahrb. für classiche Philologie, 1868 and 1875), and is followed by Schoenfeld ('De Taciti studiis Sallustianis,' p. 48). Their comparison is somewhat more minute than that here given.

[4] See on c. 43, 1.

characteristic of the author's later works are here, as in the Germania [1], conspicuous by their absence or rarity. Among those which appear may be noted a few accusatives with compound verbs, as 'eluctari' (c. 17, 3), 'incursare' (c. 36, 3), 'evadere' (c. 33, 5), the gerundive dat. (but not genit.) of purpose (c. 23, 1; 31, 3; 45, 2), the predicative dative, as 'derisui' (c. 39, 2), free uses of local (c. 24, 1; 25, 2; 26, 2), modal (c. 36, 1; 37, 5, &c.), or causal (c. 14, 4; 16, 6, &c.) abl., the concise abl. abs. of participles, as 'aestimantibus' (c. 18, 7), 'penetrantibus' (c. 34, 2), the brachylogical abl. (c. 16, 4) and genit. (c. 4, 1, &c.) of quality, the genit. with adjectives or participles, as 'patiens' (c. 12, 5), 'velox' (c. 13, 4), 'securus' (c. 43, 3), or with adverbs, as 'eo' (c. 28, 3). As regards the use of verbs, we have the omission of verbs of speaking (c. 15, 1), doing (c. 19, 2), arising (c. 11, 1; 21, 3), or appearing (c. 17, 1; 33, 1), somewhat strong instances of omission of 'sum' (c. 16, 5; 26, 3; 29, 1), verbs usually intransitive used transitively (c. 44, 5), the accus. and inf. with 'offensus' (c. 42, 3), infinitives with adjectives or participles (c. 8, 1; 12, 5), indicatives followed by 'ni' or 'nisi' (c. 31, 5; 37, 1; cp. c. 4, 4, and note), potential subjunctives (c. 22, 5; 44, 2, &c.), the subj. with 'quamquam' (c. 3, 1, &c.), apparently the only instance in the minor works of the subj. of repeated action (c. 9, 3), and an unprecedented use of supine (c. 32, 1). The present participle is sometimes substantival (c. 4, 3, &c.), and the past participle, not only of deponents (c. 29, 2, &c.), but also of passives (c. 2, 2; 5, 1; 14, 4; 22, 1) has an aoristic or present force, or a substantival meaning in apposition (c. 1, 1), or the force of an abstract noun with genit. (c. 45, 4). In prepositions there are noteworthy uses of 'citra' (c. 1, 3; 35, 2), 'erga' (c. 5, 4), 'in' (c. 8, 3, &c.), 'inter' (c. 32, 4), 'per' (c. 4, 2; 29, 1, &c.), 'pro' (c. 26, 3), the Sallustian adverbial 'iuxta' (c. 22, 3), the adjectival 'contra' (c. 10, 2), and 'ultra' (c. 25, 1), and adjectival uses of constructions with preps. (c. 6, 3; 16, 1). In conjunctions, we note 'et' (c. 9, 3; 15, 4), probably also 'que' (c. 17, 2), with the sense 'and yet,' the use of 'et' before negatives (c. 16, 4, &c.), the combinations 'et . . . quoque' (c. 24, 1), 'que . . . et' (c. 18, 5), 'neque . . . ac' (c. 10, 7), the use of 'quominus' for 'quin' (c. 20, 2).

As regards the general literary style of this treatise, the innovations of diction are not on the whole numerous; of new words we have 'inlacessitus' (c. 20, 3; also in G.) and 'covinnarius'

[1] See Introd. to Germania, p. 9, foll.

(c. 35, 3; 36, 3), noteworthy abstract plurals, as 'fulgores' (c. 33, 1), 'pallores' (c. 45, 2), rare comparative forms, as 'porrectior' (c. 35, 4), 'inrevocabilior' (c. 42, 4), or superlative, as 'audentissimus' (c. 33, 1), senses new in prose [1], or altogether new, as of 'dissociabilis' (c. 3, 1; ἅπ. εἰρ. in prose, and in the sense here given to it), 'anxius' (c. 5, 2), 'percolere' (c. 10, 1), 'obtendi' (c. 10, 2; also in G.), 'adfundi' (c. 35, 2), 'spiramenta' (c. 44, 5), 'transvectus' (c. 18, 3), or variations from usual phrases, as 'terga praestare' (c. 37, 3), 'bellum impellere' (c. 25, 1), 'complexum armorum' (c. 36, 1).

Traces of study or imitation of previous authors abound in all the writings of Tacitus; and it is apparently a characteristic of this treatise to show a larger proportion of such reminiscences of prose authors and less of poets. The Ciceronian character of the epilogue and the traces of Sallust in the 'dispositio operis' have been already noticed: the influence of the latter author is further shown by the interspersion, as in the Germania, of sententious maxims; the description of Romans put into the mouth of Calgacus recalls the letter of Mithridates; and other sentiments in the same speech (c. 31, 1), and in that of Agricola (c. 33, 4), seem modelled on the speech of Catiline (Cat. 58), and parts of the description of the battle (c. 37, 2–3) on that of the battle against Jugurtha, with detached expressions (c. 33, 4–5; 36, 3) from other parts of the author. Elsewhere we have from the same source 'clarus ac magnus haberi' (c. 18, 6), 'qui mortales initio coluerint' (c. 11, 1), 'pro salute, de gloria certare' (c. 26, 2; cp. c. 5, 3), 'multus in agmine,' 'nihil quietum pati' (c. 20, 2), 'oriri sueta' (c. 12, 5), 'frustra esse' (c. 13, 4), 'edoctus aliquid' (c. 26, 2), 'memorabile facinus' (c. 28, 1, also in Livy), the Graecism 'volentibus erat' (c. 18, 3), the metaphorical use of 'pronum' (c. 1, 2; 33, 4).

The traceable reminiscences of Livy, fewer and less close, are found chiefly in the narrative of the great battle. In the speech of Agricola, some parallelism of sentiment and a few resemblances of expression are noted (c. 33, 1; 34, 1, 3) to the speeches of Scipio and Hannibal before Ticinum and to other places, and a similar influence is traceable in the description of the advantage gained by knowledge of locality, and that of drawing a 'cordon' round the enemy (c. 37, 4), also in the military senses of 'diducere' (c. 35, 4), 'in vestigiis' (c. 34, 3), 'vestigiis insequi' (c. 26, 2), 'vitare' and 'ad manus'

[1] Some of the expressions noted below as taken from poets seem not found in earlier prose.

(c. 36, 1), 'finis sequendi' (c. 37, 6), and the 'vastum silentium' after flight (c. 38, 2). Elsewhere, scattered traces may be noticed, as the adjectival 'invicem' (c. 24, 1), 'securus' for 'tutus' (c. 30, 1), the phrases 'his instincti' (c. 16, 1), 'egregius cetera' (c. 16, 2), 'praeceps in iram' (c. 42, 4). From Seneca he appears to have taken the idea of 'nostri superstites' (c. 3, 2), perhaps that of 'odisse quem laeseris' (c. 42, 4), and the expression 'citra sanguinem' (c. 35, 2).

Among poets his chief debt is, as elsewhere, to Vergil, from whom he takes 'cruda ac viridis senectus' (c. 29, 4), 'aliquando victis ira virtusque' (c. 37, 3), the idea of 'monstratus fatis' (c. 13, 4), 'curis exercitus' (c. 39, 4), 'non alias' (c. 5, 3), probably the sense of 'miscere ictus' (c. 36, 2), 'subit' (c. 3, 1), 'revolvo' (c. 46, 3), perhaps the dat. with 'excipere' (c. 15, 3), the abl. with 'avelli' (c. 12, 7), the genit. with 'securus' (c. 43, 3), the infinitive with 'peritus' (c. 8, 1), the anastrophe of 'quin etiam' (c. 26, 3). From Horace we seem to get the phrase 'silere aliquem' (c. 41, 2), the expression 'aeque' . . . 'aeque' (c. 15, 2), perhaps the sense of 'tardus' (c. 18, 3) and 'numerus' (c. 34, 2). To Ovid he may have been indebted for 'sumite animum' (c. 31, 4), 'in bella faciles' (c. 21, 1), the Graecism 'ex facili' (c. 15, 1), and perhaps the phrase 'quantum ad' (c. 44, 3; also in G.), and dative with 'mitis' (c. 16, 3); to Lucan for 'incerta fugae vestigia' (c. 38, 2), 'spargere bellum' (c. 38, 3), and perhaps 'annus' in the sense of 'annona' (c. 31, 2; also in G.); to Silius possibly for the dative with 'novus' (c. 16, 3).

The influence of the author's rhetorical training is even more evident than in the Germania, which itself exhibits this more prominently than the later works. The speeches occupy a large space in proportion to the narrative, and the epilogue is virtually another oration. The same influence is seen, as in his other minor works, in a redundancy of expression which he would have at a later date severely pruned down, showing itself chiefly in the attempt to emphasize by accumulating virtually synonymous terms. Thus we have 'vicit ac supergressa est' (c. 1, 1), 'comitio ac foro' (c. 2, 1), 'fiduciam ac robur' (c. 3, 1), 'incensum ac flagrantem' (c. 4, 4), 'sublime et erectum,' 'pulchritudinem ac speciem,' 'magnae excelsaeque' (c. 4, 5), 'quiete et otio' (c. 6, 3, &c.), 'iugis ac montibus' (c. 10, 7), 'factionibus et studiis' (c. 12, 1), 'viva ac spirantia' (c. 12, 7), 'ignavis et imbellibus' (c. 15, 3), 'indecorus atque humilis' (c. 16, 5), 'praesidiis castellisque' (c. 20, 3), 'praelium atque arma' (c. 30, 2), 'recessus ac sinus' (c. 30, 4), 'in-

tegri et indomiti' (c. 31, 5), 'dissensionibus et discordiis' (c. 32, 1), 'fama et rumore,' 'castris et armis' (c. 33, 3), 'terrarum ac naturae' (c. 33, 6), 'fictum ac compositum' (c. 40, 2), 'celebritate et frequentia' (c. 40, 3), 'vulgus et populus' (c. 43, 1), 'intervalla ac spiramenta' (c. 44, 5), 'formam ac figuram' (c. 46, 3). Of the rhetorical or poetical expansion of an idea by hendiadys the genuine instances seem few [1], but we may note 'sinu indulgentiaque' (c. 4, 2), 'legationibus et foederibus' (c. 29, 3), 'diem consensumque' (c. 30, 1), perhaps 'honore iudicioque' (c. 43, 4), and the suggested reading 'tenor et silentium' (c. 6, 4). As in the Germania, and still more in the 'Dialogus,' there are frequent instances of rhetorical anaphora, or emphatic repetition of an adjective, pronoun, adverb, &c., as that of 'procul' (c. 9, 5), 'aeque' (c. 15, 2), 'nihil' (c. 15, 3), 'qui' (c. 18, 5), 'simul' (c. 25, 1), 'quotidie' (c. 31, 2), 'noctu' (c. 40, 5), 'absens' (c. 41, 1). Frequently rhetorical point is given by alliteration, as in 'magna fama . . . mala' (c. 5, 4), 'deposcendis . . . detrectandis' (c. 11, 4), 'paena . . . paenitentia' (c. 19, 3), 'offendere . . . odisse' (c. 22, 5), 'vota virtusque,' 'victoribus . . . victis' (c. 33, 4; cp. c. 18, 7), 'mucrones ac manus' (c. 36, 1), 'virtutibus . . . vitiis' (c. 41, 4), 'famam fatumque' (c. 42, 4), 'inglorios et ignobilis oblivio obruit' (c. 46, 6). Also the rhetorical structure of clauses known as chiasmus is seen here and there (c. 18, 7; 20, 2; 25, 3; 28, 2; 36, 1), and some of the personifications, as those of 'ira' and 'victoria' (c. 16, 1), 'pugnae' (c. 30, 3), 'gladii' (c. 36, 1), are unusually bold.

In these characteristics Tacitus is somewhat in contrast with his after self, as also in the less prominence of many of his favourite modes of compression. The cases of zeugma, so frequent in the Annals, are here few [2], and some of his noteworthy ellipses or concise constructions are rare or absent [3]; and where 'breviloquentia' is studied it is apt to be in a somewhat different form. In the later

[1] Gantrelle ('Grammaire et Style,' p. 52) cites a treatise by M. Ulbricht, maintaining that no genuine instances occur in the minor works; but this seems to go too far. Cp. Introd. to Germania, p. 10; Gudeman, Introd. to Dial. p. cxvii.

[2] Some instances given are questionable, but we may note the uses of 'conceperit' (c. 3, 1), 'obeunt' (c. 13, 1), 'contemuntur' (c. 31, 2), 'exercendis' (c. 31, 3), 'exstimulabant' (c. 41, 4), and a very harsh instance (see below, p. 22) in c. 19, 3.

[3] Those which are absent are much the same as are noted in Introd. to Germania, pp. 9, 10; those which are used have been noted above (p. 17); to which may be added cases of compendious comparison, as 'ultra nostri orbis mensuram' (c. 12, 3), 'a Britannia differunt' (c. 24, 4); ellipses of pronouns, as c. 9, 1; 42, 3, &c.

writings, the conciseness is more continuous, and more thoroughly a work of art; the links omitted are generally such as can easily be supplied, and the effort of so doing, and of completing the logical expression, serves to arrest and interest the reader[1]. Here we find sometimes a more spasmodic straining at brevity, apt to result in more or less loss of perspicuity.

It is perhaps most of all in these harshnesses that we find the chief characteristic of this treatise. If it may be supposed to have been written before the Germania, it would be a first attempt to form a historical out of a rhetorical style, a 'rudis et incondita vox,' and more or less tentative. He had parted with such advantage as the following of Cicero had given him in the 'Dialogus,' and had hardly formed his own style, and sometimes adopts expressions which, aided by oral emphasis or other means, are better suited to produce effect on hearers than on readers. We notice in the Germania such bold figures as 'obstitit Oceanus in se inquiri' (c. 34, 3), and such straining after conciseness as 'vallare noctem' (c. 30, 2); and in this treatise such faults of style are still more prominent. For bold strokes of rhetoric we have 'titulum et inscitiam rettulit' (c. 5, 2), 'ludos duxit' (c. 6, 4), 'fama aucti officii' (c. 14, 3), 'terga occasioni patefecit' (c. 14, 4), 'eripi domos' (c. 15, 3), 'agitavit Britanniam disciplina' (c. 16, 6), 'qui mare expectabant' (c. 18, 5), 'ludere pretio' (c. 19, 4), 'intrepida hiems' (c. 22, 3), 'recessus ac sinus famae defendit' (c. 30, 4), 'finem Britanniae non rumore tenemus' (c. 33, 3), 'vota virtusque in aperto' (c. 33, 4), 'otium hausit' (c. 40, 4), 'in gloriam agebatur' (c. 41, 4). Among the places which a slight expansion of language would have saved from harshness or even obscurity are some of those[2] in which two sentences are combined in one (c. 10, 4; 12, 6; 25, 2), or in which what is left to be supplied is not clearly indicated (c. 6, 1; 21, 2; 22, 2; 31, 1; 38, 5; 39, 4; 44, 4), or in which the idea of a qualifying word such as 'tantum,' 'quamquam,' or 'tamen' seems required to complete the sense (c. 10, 6; 16, 2; 17, 3), and such expressions as 'contubernio aestimaret' (c. 5, 1), 'invicem se ante-

[1] Some of these are well noted by Peter, Appendix, pp. 113-119.

[2] Other instances of such combination (e.g. c. 1, 3; 5, 1; 10, 6; 12, 2; 14, 3-4; 39, 2), are fully within such limits as Tacitus elsewhere observes, and cause no difficulty. The same may be said of other places in which, instead of the strict logical corresponding expression, one more terse and forcible is substituted, as c. 1, 2; 3, 1; 9, 5; 19, 2; 31, 3; 34, 3; to most of which Peter (Appendix, l. l.) cites parallels from the later works.

ponendo' (c. 6, 1), 'inter quaesturam ac tribunatum' (c. 6, 3), 'victoria amplexus aut bello' (c. 17, 2), the harsh zeugma in 'paena contentus' (c. 19, 3), 'mixti copiis et laetitia' (c. 25, 1), 'pulchrum ac decorum in frontem' (c. 33, 5), 'ut Domitiano moris erat, excepit' (c. 39, 1), 'eo laudis excedere, quo . . . inclaruerunt' (c. 42, 5), and departures from rules elsewhere observed by the author (see on c. 4, 5; 17, 1; 38, 4).

In several of these passages many critics have insisted that the words are corrupt, and have proposed corrections; and it must be admitted that the weakness of our MSS., and the undoubted corruptions contained in them, cast a general uncertainty over the text delivered to us. On the other hand, in several of the above-mentioned instances the reading has not been seriously questioned, and to admit these is to weaken the force of the objections to others, and to strengthen the misgiving that we may be endeavouring to correct not the scribe but the author.

SECTION V.

THE ACCOUNT IN THIS TREATISE OF BRITAIN, AND OF ITS CONQUEST.

NOTE.—The principal works used in this section are mentioned in the Preface, or in their places below.

The map at the end of the volume differs from others in being more adapted to the date of Tacitus; the names of people or places inserted being generally only such as are mentioned by him or by earlier authors, or those of such localities as we have some ground of evidence or probability for believing to have been occupied in or before this date. Thus the lines from Clyde to Forth are inserted, those of the Great Wall omitted. I have indicated a few of the chief roads, on the supposition that some at least of them must have been constructed during forty years of occupation. It should be added that the lines of frontier at different dates have no pretensions to accuracy, but are only intended to indicate roughly the probable limits.

The small map in the margin illustrates the geographical and ethnological ideas of c. 10–11.

IN no other of his extant works has Tacitus given any general account of Britain and its people; and this circumstance, added to his exceptional means of knowledge through his father-in-law, has made

this treatise as interesting as its shortcomings have made it disappointing to our archaeologists. The little that can here be said on so general a subject must mainly deal with the points in which he appears to have added to, or otherwise modified, existing knowledge.

As regards the general configuration of Britain, he claims for Agricola the credit of having first established beyond a doubt its insular character[1]. That his was the first circumnavigation of the northern part undertaken by or even known to Romans[2] seems clearly true, but that no previous circumnavigation by any others had ever taken place, must appear very doubtful. It is at any rate evident that all earlier extant writers, Caesar, Diodorus, Strabo, Mela, Pliny, speak of it without hesitation as a triangular island, some comparing it to Sicily[3]. The promontories at the three angles are named, as Cantium, Bolerium, Orcas[4]; the insularity of Ireland is assumed as known, its position is given (correctly by Caesar and Pliny)[5], and its distance from and relative size to that of Britain are estimated; while as regards other outlying islands, the Orkneys were known to, and their number given with considerable correctness by, Mela and Pliny[6]; and the latter had also some vague knowledge of the Hebudes (Hebrides), and has names of several other islands which, if often incapable of identification, are more suggestive of misunderstood information than of invention or romance. Also the circumference of Britain had been estimated, mostly on the reckoning of Pytheas of Massilia[7] (who, though his estimate is greatly exaggerated[8], would

[1] c. 10, 5. This is repeated by Dio (66. 20, 2), who notes also the further confirmation of the fact from the expedition of Severus (76. 12, 5).

[2] Reference is made to Livy by Jornandes (Get. 2): 'Britanniae licet magnitudinem olim nemo, ut refert Livius, circumvectus est, multis tamen data est varia opinio de ea loquendi.' Quintilian (7. 4, 2) gives among subjects for rhetorical theses, 'si Caesar deliberet . . . an Britannia insula (nam tum ignorabatur).'

[3] See Caes. B. G. 5. 13, 1; Diod. 5. 21, 3; Strab. 4. 5, 1, 199; Mela 3. 6, 50; Plin. N. H. 4. 16. 30, 102. See also the view of Livy and Fabius Rusticus (below, p. 24).

[4] Diod. l. l. These appear to be the North or South Foreland, Land's End, and Dunnet or Duncansby Head.

[5] Caes. B. G. 5. 13, 2; Plin. 4. 6, 30, 103: Strabo and Mela place it north of Britain.

[6] Mela (3. 6, 54) reckons them as thirty, Pliny (l.l.) as forty in number. Those at present inhabited are twenty-seven, and many of the remaining forty are mere rocks and islets.

[7] It is probably from this traveller (cir. 325 B.C.) that the earliest Greek and Roman knowledge of Britain comes. The question of his veracity, so strongly assailed by Strabo, cannot here be discussed. For information respecting him and other early explorers and writers see Elton, 'Origins of English History,' ch. i–iii. Posidonius, another leading authority, belongs to the generation before Caesar.

[8] Pliny (§ 102) cites the estimate of Pytheas as equivalent to a circumference of 4,875 Roman miles, which agrees fairly with the 40,500 stadia of Diod.

seem to have had some information beyond his own exploration), but from some wholly different and much more accurate source by Caesar [1]. The statement of Tacitus must therefore be taken as really meaning that Agricola conclusively verified the already general belief as to the insularity of Britain, that his fleet was the first on record to survey the north-east to north-west coast, and the first to land on the Orkneys and receive some formal submission from the inhabitants, and that it had seen other land in the distance, taken to be the Thule or Thyle of poetry and legend.

Tacitus gives no estimate of the size of Britain, only speaking of it as the largest island known to Romans [2]. As to its form, he modifies in the light of recent knowledge the statements of Livy and Rusticus, which do not appear to have materially differed from those who made the island triangular [3]. His criticism of these, and probably of all other previous views, amounts briefly to this, that they are true only 'citra Caledoniam,' that the lines of coast converging up to that point do not really meet, but form an isthmus and widen out again into a shapeless tract ending in a wedge-like point. These two facts, the existence of an isthmus, and the form of the tract beyond it, must be taken as resting on the evidence of Agricola, whose view, if stated more in detail, might perhaps have been found to have originated the misconception of Ptolemy as to the eastward projection of the northern coast [4].

Another new geographical fact, no doubt first noted by Agricola, is the character of the friths of north Britain, of the sea 'penetrating and working round the land, and forcing its way between hills and mountains as if still in its own domain [5].' In most other points Tacitus follows his predecessors, whose error respecting the position of Britain relatively to Germany, Gaul, and Spain [6] he shares, and to whom he refers respecting the tides [7]. That his scientific knowledge was below the highest standard of his own or even earlier times is evident from

[1] His estimate (5. 13, 14) makes the circumference 2,000 Roman miles. Such computations could only rest on the reckoning of a ship's daily average sail, a mode of calculation which makes a very large variation intelligible, and Caesar's estimate very nearly correct, as the distance from salient point to point alone is reckoned.

[2] c. 10, 2.

[3] See c. 10, 3, and notes.

[4] See note on c. 10, 4.

[5] c. 10, 7. He makes this a general feature of British geography.

[6] See c. 10, 2, and notes; also the maps given by modern geographers to illustrate Strabo's representation of western Europe, and the map at the end of this vol.

[7] c. 10, 7.

the theory suggested for the 'sluggish sea' round Thule[1], and from the ignorance respecting the spherical form of the earth implied in his explanation of the very imperfectly stated fact of the long summer daylight in the north[2].

In speaking of the climate and products, he appears to follow Caesar in correcting an erroneous belief in the extreme cold of the island[3], and although the absence of any distinction between one part of Britain and another makes his account too vague and sweeping, the description of prevalent foulness and rain[4], of the rank growth and slow ripening of the crops[5], must have been far more true in those days of forest and unreclaimed morass[6] than we can now easily imagine. For the rest, the extreme cursoriness of his notice of metals[7], without any mention of the famous tin trade, is remarkable, as also that while he mentions the inferiority of British pearls[8], he takes no account of the reputation of the oyster[9].

Some important information is added by Tacitus respecting the ethnology of the people; and in recognizing any distinction among the inhabitants he is preceded by Caesar alone, who goes no further than to say that while the 'maritima pars' was occupied by invaders from 'Belgium' who had settled there, the interior was inhabited by tribes claiming to be indigenous[10], in other words, respecting whose immigration no tradition or other evidence existed. As to these latter he would only have had hearsay knowledge; but his words seem to imply that he believed them to be the chief part of the population, and it is possible that reports respecting them may have been the foundation for some of his statements respecting the Britons generally, such as that of the community of wives[11], and abstinence on some religious

[1] c. 10, 6. The existence of such a sea is matter of hearsay ('perhibent'); Agricola's fleet not having reached it.

[2] c. 12, 3-4. Like Juvenal (2, 161) he ignores the corresponding shortness of days in winter (see notes).

[3] c. 12, 3, and note. Diodorus (5. 21, 6) calls it extremely cold, probably repeating the prevalent belief and, as on some other points, ignoring Caesar's account. Tacitus, like Caesar, draws no distinction between one part and another.

[4] c. 12, 3. [5] c. 12, 5.

[6] For a good account of the probable physical condition of Britain at the time of the Roman invasion, see Prof. Boyd Dawkins, 'Early Man in Britain,' p. 482, foll.; Sir C. Elton, 'Origins of English History,' ch. ix, p. 222, foll.

[7] c. 12, 6, and note.

[8] c. 12, 6–7.

[9] See Juv. 4. 141, and Mayor there. It was only when 'Britannica nondum serviebant litora' that Lucrine oysters were thought the best (Plin. N. H. 9. 54, 79, 169).

[10] B. G. 5. 12, 1–2. Diod. (5. 21, 5) here again seems to give the popular belief without Caesar's correction, as he makes all the inhabitants primitive and autochthonous.

[11] 5. 14, 4. Dio (76. 12, 2) makes a similar statement respecting the Caledonians of his time.

ground from eating hares or poultry[1]. By the time of Tacitus, all except the extreme north had become more or less known by the progress of the Roman armies[2], and he was able to speak of the population more definitely. In his view the aborigines, if such there had ever been, had passed away and left no record[3]; but while recognizing that the main part of the island was occupied probably by Gauls, certainly by people closely resembling them[4], he singles out two peoples, both of them well-known and determined enemies of Rome, as of non-Gallic, though also of foreign, origin. 'There are different physical types, and inferences are drawn from them; for the red hair and stalwart limbs of the dwellers in Caledonia attest their German origin, the swarthy complexions and generally curly locks of the Silurians, as also their position opposite to Spain, win credit for the belief that in old times Iberians crossed over and settled there[5].'

These distinctions, resting, it will be observed, on physical characteristics only, and taking no account of language, have received much attention in the light of recent researches, but have perhaps had too much stress laid on them. As the two peoples must have been so well known, we may take it that they are correctly described, and were so diametrically opposed to each other that they could not have had a common origin. But the alleged resemblance of Caledonian to German and Silurian to Iberian, even supposing it to rest on the authority of Agricola himself, may not be founded on more than superficial observation. Agricola had in his army many Gauls, and also subjected Germans, as Batavians and Tungrians[6], and may have thought that his Caledonian antagonists and prisoners approached more nearly to the latter than the former type. But the physical difference between Celt and German was not to Roman eyes strongly marked[7]; and a ruder and less civilized tribe of the former might

[1] 5. 12, 6. Dio (l. l.) notices a similar abstinence from fish among the Caledonians.

[2] The Caledonian forest is mentioned by Pliny alone (see below, p. 38, n. 2) among writers before Ptolemy; but the people of the north were known as 'Caledonii Britanni' in Nero's time (Luc. 6, 68).

[3] 'Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint, indigenae an advecti, ut inter barbaros, parum compertum' (c. 11, 1).

[4] It is observable that he does not speak of their immigration as a historical fact, but as an inference from probabilities, and admits the supposition that the permanent resemblance may be due to climatic influence (c. 11, 2–4).

[5] c. 11, 2.

[6] c. 36, 1; for Gaulish troops in Britain, see Hübner, 'Heer,' p. 560, foll.

[7] See the important passage in Strabo (7. 1, 2, 290), where he describes the German as slightly different from the Celt, more savage, taller, more red-haired, in other words, an exaggerated

well be assigned to the latter race. Again, Agricola had in Britain Spanish[1], and very probably Iberian troops, who would present a strong contrast to Gauls and Germans, and he might have noticed a resemblance, which might be fancied only[2], between them and Silurians, and the geographical misconception of the position of the countries would make for the suggestion of racial identity.

If, however, we set aside the supposition of immigration from Spain, and the geographical error connected with it, the identification of Silurian and Iberian has considerable probability in its favour; and many have adopted the view that an affinity existed between this Welsh folk and the Basques[3], and that both were branches of a once wide-spread Iberian race, represented also perhaps in Ireland by the Firbolgs of legend[4], in Gaul by the Aquitani between the Pyrenees and Loire[5], in Africa by the Berbers[6], in Sicily, according to Greek tradition[7], by the Sicani, also in the ancient people of Corsica and Sardinia, and, according to some, in the Ligurians and even the Etruscans of Italy[8].

Stress has also been laid on the anthropological evidence showing the existence of two prehistoric races in this island, the one a short, dolichocephalic people, using neolithic implements, and burying in long cavern-shaped barrows, the other tall and brachycephalic, using bronze implements and burying in round barrows[9]. Both of these appear to have been very generally spread over the face of Britain; and the supposition that these Silurians and Caledonians represent a surviving remnant of each is naturally tempting.

Anthropologists also find the neolithic people of Britain still surviving among the bronze men[10], and it is added that descendants of a short dark race are at this day traceable, as the chief con-

Celt. The German was no doubt better known to the contemporaries of Tacitus than to Strabo, but the physical distinction may still have appeared one of degree.

[1] See Hübner, 'Heer,' p. 572: a 'cohors prima Hispanorum' appears in several British military diplomata.

[2] If we are to assume that it extended itself not only to the dark complexion, but the curly hair, it would seem somewhat well marked.

[3] See Boyd Dawkins, 'Early Man in Britain,' p. 314.

[4] See Elton, p. 140, foll.

[5] Their resemblance to Iberians in form and speech is affirmed in Strab. 4. 1, 1, 176.

[6] Boyd Dawkins, p. 324.

[7] Thucyd. 6. 2, 2.

[8] See the map of Iberic and Celtic peoples in Europe, Boyd Dawkins, p. 318.

[9] See Boyd Dawkins, ch. ix–x.

[10] The two kinds of skulls are found in the same barrows, and it is thought that the earlier race may have survived as slaves of the latter; see Elton, p. 145, Dawkins, p. 343.

stituent in the population of Wales [1], intermingled with the tall fair-haired race in Scotland [2], and forming elsewhere a still distinguishable element, notwithstanding infinite modifications by fusion with others [3].

All this may be true, and may yet carry us but a small way towards determining the ethnology of the Silurians of Tacitus. Of the neolithic men we know only the skeletons, of the Silurians only the hair and the complexion: the short dolichocephalic race is generally regarded by anthropologists as likely to have been feeble and unwarlike [4], whereas both Basques and Silurians are especially famed for the obstinate tenacity of their resistance; the general diffusion of a short and dark-featured type in so many parts of the United Kingdom makes against rather than for its identity with an isolated race in South Wales. And as to any further evidence of the identity of Basque or Iberian with Silurian, we have no known Iberian customs and no Basque words traceable in Britain. Philology knows nothing of any distinct Silurian language; the name of the people appears to convey no known linguistic meaning, while their town names in Ptolemy and the Itinerary are altogether Celtic [5], arguing that, whatever their origin, they had adopted a Celtic tongue in Roman times. The resemblance noted by Tacitus becomes thus our only evidence.

The attempt to identify the Caledonians opens up still more difficult questions and far greater differences of opinion. The very general opinion, that the tall, brachycephalic race of the round barrows are the earliest Celts [6], has suggested that these Caledonians may be

[1] See Boyd Dawkins, p. 330; Elton, p. 140.

[2] Sir W. Scott has exemplified the two types in the Highlands, in describing the two sons of the MacGregor (Rob Roy, ch. 31), the one 'taller by a head, and much handsomer, with light blue eyes and a profusion of fair hair,' the other with 'dark hair and dark features and a form strong and well set.'

[3] Elton (p. 141) instances several districts in the eastern fen country, and in the south-western counties of Cornwall and Devon, with parts of Gloucestershire, Wilts, and Somerset; also districts in the Midland counties, round Derby, Stamford, Leicester, and Loughborough.

[4] Elton (p. 134) notes that the anatomists have concluded that the neolithic Britons were not unlike the modern Eskimo, short and slight, with muscles too much developed for their slender and ill-nurtured bones.

[5] Ptolemy (2. 3, 24) gives them only one town, called Βούλλαιον, a name closely akin to several found in Gaul, as Bulliacos (Bouilly, dep. Marne), and personal names, as Bullius, &c.; see Alfred Holder, Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz. In the Itinerary they have their Isca and Venta, the Roman stations of Caerleon and Caerwent. The former was no doubt known also to Ptolemy, who confuses another Isca (Exeter) with it.

[6] See Boyd Dawkins, ch. x. The construction of the great megalithic temples is assigned by him to the bronze, by some to the neolithic race.

survivors of some Celtic stock, strongly differentiated by time and situation from those with whom the Romans were familiar. Such evidence as we get from language makes, as far as it goes, for this view; for the Caledonian name [1] and that of their leader Calgacus [2] are capable of Celtic explanation, and other Celtic names are given by Ptolemy in that region [3]. But such names prove no more than in the case of the Silurians; and some ethnologists, comparing the description in Tacitus with that of some northern people in Augustan times by Vitruvius [4], have supposed a German or rather Scandinavian immigration [5] or that of some non-Aryan northern race [6]. But these views stand sorely in need of some corroborative evidence.

The question is rather complicated than simplified by some information respecting the people of these regions at the beginning of the third century, given by two contemporary writers [7]. It appears that by the time of the expedition of Severus the numerous tribes with which Ptolemy has peopled the north were all merged in Caledonii and Maeatae, whose respective territories corresponded generally to the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland. Both are described as living in utter savagery, without agriculture, or any dwelling but tents, and having wives in common, living in marshes on roots and other such food, naked, tattooed, armed with spears having a chain and knob attached to them to strike terror by noise [8]. This picture may be exaggerated or even fabulous: if we are to accept it in any measure it will be impossible to say whether it represents a Celtic people which by long isolation has gone back into savagery [9], or a race non-Celtic,

[1] Very similar names, as 'Caledu,' 'Calidu,' are found in many Gallic coins; see Holder, l.l. The only modern survival of the name is in that of the town of Dunkeld.

[2] See note on c. 29, 4.

[3] e.g. Damnonii (2. 3, 9), Cornavii (§ 11), Vacomagi (§ 13); and towns, as Alauna (§ 9), Lindum (l.l.), Devana (§ 15), to which others could be added.

[4] 'Sub Septemtrionibus nutriuntur gentes immensis corporibus, candidis coloribus, directo capillo et rufo, oculis caesiis, sanguine multo' (Vitr. 6. 1). It is thought that he could hardly mean such well-known people as Gauls, or any Celts of the usual type.

[5] Tacitus (G. 44, 2) places in Scandinavia the Suiones, whom he ranks as Germans, and speaks of as the only seafaring people of that race. For a modern view see Boyd Dawkins (p. 487), who takes the Caledonians to have come from Scandinavia by way of the Orkneys, and distinguishes them from Celts, and says that Dr. Beddoe thinks the tall red-haired people in Athole and Mar are their survivors.

[6] See Elton, p. 144, foll., where it is argued that the Caledonians, and also the earliest bronze men generally, were of Finnish race.

[7] See Dio 76. 12; Herodian 3. 14.

[8] Their other weapons are those used by Celts. Dio mentions a dagger, Herodian a narrow shield and sword, so that we have the dirk, target, and claymore; cp. c. 36, 1, and note: they had also chariots drawn by small, active ponies.

[9] That the north was not always

and perhaps non-Aryan, which has succeeded in overpowering its neighbours. The locality and description make it probable that one or both of the peoples are identical with the Picts of later date [1]; but such an identification would only substitute one difficulty for another, and amount to saying that the Pict riddle must be solved [2] before the Caledonian is attempted.

We seem thus forced to conclude that the ethnology of the Silurians of Tacitus is doubtful, and that of his Caledonians altogether unknown; but that non-Celtic, or even non-Aryan elements of population may have existed not only in isolated localities, but intermingled elsewhere with later immigrants, is not only probable in itself, but has been most ably argued from the examination of ancient superstitions, customs, or folklore, seeming to date back to other than a Celtic origin [3].

Neither Caesar nor Tacitus mention any other Celts in Britain than the Gauls; but we cannot suppose that those passing by this name were the only or the earliest Celtic immigrants. If, as seems generally thought, the first Celts were the introducers of bronze, and were the tall race of the round barrows [4], their arrival in Britain may be dated back to the thirteenth or even fifteenth century B.C. [5], but we have no clear evidence as to their previous home or successive waves of movement. The great linguistic fact, that the Celtic speech of these islands falls into two broadly distinct families, Goidelic and Brythonic [6], each represented by still existing languages [7], finds no recognition, and answers to no distinction in Tacitus or any other Roman author; and

savage appears from the fact that Celtic art survived here (as also in Ireland) when extinguished in the south by the Roman conquest (A. J. Evans, Sixth Rhind Lecture).

[1] Picts begin to be heard of, as allied with the Scots from Ireland, in the middle of the fourth century. One of their subdivisions has the name Dicaledones; fifty years earlier, Eumenius had spoken of 'Caledonum aliorumque Pictorum silvas et paludes.'

[2] It has been generally held that the word 'Pict' is Latin, and that the people are Celtic, but Prof. Rhys argues (Rhind Lectures, 1889) that the name is native, and the people and language non-Aryan.

[3] See Elton, ch. viii. Many writers have treated of this large subject, which cannot here be entered into.

[4] This is not to be assumed as unquestioned.

[5] Sir J. Evans, 'Ancient Bronze Implements of Great Britain,' thinks the introduction of bronze may be carried back to that date.

[6] These are often distinguished as 'q' and 'p' Celts, the latter letter being used by Brythons where the former is used by Goidels.

[7] The former is represented by Irish, Gaelic, and Manx; the latter by Welsh, Breton, and Cornish (extinct as a spoken language, but preserved by literature). For their probable area of diffusion during the Roman occupation, see the map in Rhys, 'Celtic Britain.'

the difficult questions respecting their relation need not be here entered into[1]. The chief attention should be directed to the Brythonic Celts occupying so large a part of the island, and among them to those distinctly reckoned as Gauls.

The Gauls of Caesar's time fall into two[2] main divisions, that of the people of the central district 'qui ipsorum lingua Celtae, nostra Galli appellantur[3],' and the northern Belgae, who claimed a German origin[4], and may have been of mixed blood, but who were certainly Gauls in speech and are generally reckoned with them, and were in Caesar's time the most warlike Gaulish race. It was from this portion of Gaul, according to Caesar[5], that Britain was occupied.

The date of their coming is unknown, but there is much probability in the view that their invasion of Britain was part of the great movement of the fourth and third century B.C.[6] by which the Gallic name became a terror in Europe and western Asia. The opinion generally held, and in itself probable, that the general displacement of bronze implements and weapons by those of iron in Britain is due to them,

[1] The prehistoric occupation of Ireland by Goidels, and of the greater part of Britain by Brythons, are at any rate established facts. Whether the Goidels found at an early date in western and northern parts of Britain are to be considered the survivors of an earlier immigration, driven into corners by the Brythons, or to have been, as were others of later date, invaders from Ireland, cannot be here discussed.

[2] His division (1. 1, 1) is threefold, but the Aquitani have been already spoken of (see above, p. 27) as said to be an Iberian stock. An interesting threefold division of the present people of France will be found in Boyd Dawkins, p. 325, foll. Two, the dark and fair, answer to the Aquitani and Belgae respectively; the third, a race of medium stature, with brown hair and gray or brown eyes, is taken to answer to Caesar's Celtae, but this seems much more doubtful.

[3] To these belong the Gallic tribes known as invaders of Italy, &c., as the Boii, Lingones, Arverni, Senones, &c. (Liv. 5. 34), and the leading tribes of Caesar's time, as the Aedui. We should therefore take them to have been tall, fair-haired, typical Gauls, rather than a mixed race (see note above). It will be noticed that with Caesar 'Gaul' and 'Celt' are equivalent, the former being the Roman, the latter the native name.

[4] B. G. 2. 4, 1.

[5] 5. 12, 2. His statement that they mostly retained their names can only be verified as regards the Belgae of Hants, the Atrebates bordering on them, and the Parisi of south-east Yorkshire; but few of our tribal names are mentioned earlier than by Ptolemy, in whose time many names seem to have vanished, as the five southern tribes mentioned in Caes. 5. 21, 1, and the Cangi or Decangi and the Boresti of Tacitus.

[6] Livy (5. 34, 1) makes their settlement in North Italy precede by near two centuries their collision with Rome, but it is probable that the two events were far more nearly related in time. Polybius (2. 15, 8; 17, 3) appears to make them spread from an original Alpine home. In Britain some chronological inference is suggested by the fact that the Parisi, whose coinage in Gaul dates back to the third century B.C., had either none, or at best an extremely rude one, in Britain (A. J. Evans, Sixth Rhind Lecture; see Sir J. Evans, 'British Coinage,' Suppt. 589).

would point to much the same date[1]. The new-comers appear to have occupied the most important half of the island, within (and in some places beyond) the line of the Trent, Warwickshire Avon, Parret, and Stour[2]; and they may probably have originated the general name Britanni and Britannia[3]. The country occupied by them was densely peopled, and stocked with abundant flocks and herds[4]. It is probable that we also owe to them the beginnings of systematic husbandry[5], and the turning to fuller account of the capacities of the soil for corn-growing[6]. The invaders may have mingled to some extent with the previous inhabitants, and may have been partially unaffected by subsequent changes in Gaul itself, from which causes may have arisen such differences as were observable between Gaul and Briton. Hence we have languages similar but not identical[7], some distinct customs, such as the use of woad[8], and perhaps some differences of physical appearance[9]. Again the

[1] Isolated specimens of iron implements from the bed of the Thames and Shannon have been referred to as early a date as the seventh century B.C. (A. J. Evans, Second Rhind Lecture); but the general substitution of iron for bronze is dated by Sir J. Evans in the second or third century B.C.; cp. also Boyd Dawkins, c. xii. In Caesar's time those on the coast had local iron (B. G. 5. 12, 4), and must therefore have been able to smelt it; but it was sufficiently precious to pass by weight as money: their bronze was wholly imported (Caes. l. l.).

[2] Rhys, 'Lectures on Welsh Philology,' p. 185. Their area would mainly coincide with that of the coinage; see below, p. 33, n. 7.

[3] On the history and various forms of the name see Rhys, 'Celtic Britain,' ch. 6 A Belgic tribe, 'Britanni,' was still surviving in Pliny's time (4. 17, 31, 106), and their name is thought to be preserved in that of a village, Bretagne, at the mouth of the Somme (Holder). The older name Albion is still retained by Greeks, and survived in the Scottish Alban.

[4] Caes. B. G. 5. 12, 3. Domestic animals, especially the Celtic shorthorn cattle, had existed in Britain from neolithic times (Boyd Dawkins, p. 297, &c.).

[5] The use of corn is evidenced in the bronze, and even in the neolithic period (see Boyd Dawkins, pp. 268, 340), but seems so far exceptional that Caesar had the report (5. 14, 2), 'interiores plerique frumenta non serunt, sed lacte et carne vivunt pellibusque sunt vestiti' (in contrast to Gallic clothing). Tacitus implies (c. 30, 3), and Dio at a later time asserts, that the Caledonians had no husbandry (76. 12, 1).

[6] 'Solum . . . patiens frugum, fecundum' (c. 12, 5).

[7] 'Sermo haud multum diversus' (c. 10, 4). Elsewhere he speaks of a people among Germans as having a 'Gallic tongue' (G. 43, 1) and of another language as 'resembling British' (G. 45, 2); statements implying a distinction.

[8] Caesar would hardly have called the practice universal (5. 14, 3) if he had not noticed it in the Gaulish Britons with whom he fought, and who would thus seem to have adopted it. Some similar custom is spoken of as occasional by Pliny (22. 1, 2, 2), though unnoticed by Tacitus; and something of the kind is made by Herodian (3. 14) characteristic of the Caledonians, as it was (if the Latin derivation of the word is right) of the Picts.

[9] Caesar (5. 14, 3) speaks only of their flowing hair and long moustache, but otherwise shaven face; Strabo, who had seen a few casual specimens (4. 5, 2, 200), says they were taller than Celts

Gaulish conquerors of Britain seem not to have reached town life, and at no period do we find British towns answering to such as Caesar found in Gaul[1]. As a compensation, most of the Britons had preserved, even in Agricola's time, the hardihood and warlike qualities which the Gauls had lost[2].

The resemblances between Gaul and Briton would no doubt be far greater than the differences, the more so from the close connexion always subsisting between the countries. Tacitus instances their common religion[3], probably referring chiefly to Druidism and implying a belief that it was of Gallic origin[4]. The British coinage is one of the most unmistakable introductions from Gaul, beginning from about B.C. 150 or possibly B.C. 200[5], modelled, like the Gallic, on Macedonian or Massilian types[6], and hardly, if at all, in use beyond the Gallic tribes[7]. It is still more noteworthy that the same coinage frequently appears on both sides of the channel[8], showing that other Gallic princes held some such

(Gauls) and less fairhaired, looser built (χαυνότεροι), and less straightlimbed. The most detailed description is that which Dio (62. 2, 3) has preserved of Boudicca as 'of the tallest stature, sternest features, most piercing eyes, harsh voice, with abundant auburn hair flowing down to her hips, wearing a large golden torque, a variegated tunic folded round her, and a thick cloak fastened over it with a clasp, and grasping a spear.'

[1] Caesar (B. G. 21, 3) describes their towns as mere places of temporary shelter: 'oppidum Britanni vocant, cum silvas impeditas vallo et fossa munierunt, qua incursionis hostium vitandae causa convenire consuerunt.' Strabo (4. 5, 2, 200) follows him. Camulodunum, the capital of Cunobelinus, seems to represent the highest level reached by British townbuilders.

[2] Those who had been long conquered were much the same as Gauls; 'ceteri manent quales Galli fuerunt' (c. 11, 5). Cp. the touch 'iam domiti ut pareant, nondum ut serviant' (c. 13, 1).

[3] 'Eorum (sc. 'Gallorum') sacra deprehendas, superstitionum persuasiones' (c. 11, 4). On the British and Gaulish religions generally see Elton, ch. x: Rhys, Celtic Britain, pp. 67, foll.; Mommsen, Hist. v. 176; E. T. i. 193. The chief Roman authority on the latter is Caes. 6. 16–18.

[4] On Druidism cp. A. 14. 30, 1, and notes. It has been generally held that Caesar (6. 13, 11) is right in saying that it originated in Britain, and spread thence into Gaul. It has been thought to have been derived from earlier non-Aryan inhabitants; but it does not seem to have prevailed in the north or in Ireland.

[5] Sir J. Evans, 'Coins of the Ancient Britons,' Suppt. p. 423; A. J. Evans, Sixth Rhind Lecture for 1895. I am indebted to Mr. Evans for a sight of an abstract of these lectures (on the origin of Celtic Art) in the Scotsman, the only form in which they have as yet been published.

[6] The earliest coinage is gold only, modelled on, though very degenerate from, the gold stater of Philip of Macedon (the 'regale nomisma' of Hor. Ep. 2. 1, 234): see Sir J. Evans, also some engravings in Rhys, Celtic Britain. Later on, silver, copper, and tin coins are found.

[7] Sir J. Evans classifies the inscribed coinage into six districts. It is plentiful within the line of the Severn and Trent, and as far west as Somerset, beyond which limits it becomes scarce, and gradually disappears. The uninscribed has much the same area.

[8] Sir J. Evans, p. 153; Suppt., p. 508; A. J. Evans, Archaeologia, vol. lii.

suzerainty in Britain as that of Divitiacus, king of the Suessiones, a little before Caesar's time [1], and the same close intercourse is attested by the fact that the Gallic resistance to Caesar received constant aid from Britain [2].

Evidence of a considerable development of art in Britain in the latest pre-Roman times is afforded by the discovery of a cemetery at Aylesford in Kent [3], where the burnt bones are deposited in wheel-made urns of elegant design [4], with which are found bronze vessels with 'repoussé' designs of elaborate and tasteful workmanship. The pottery appears to have been baked on the spot [5]; and the whole find shows the adoption and cultivation in Britain of the 'Late Celtic' art derived by the Gauls from that of the Illyrian and Venetic district on the Adriatic [6], itself a survival of the very early art called 'Mycenaean,' modified by various later influences [7].

It will thus be seen that at least a large part of the island had reached before the invasion of Caesar a much higher level of civilization than is generally supposed. Of that invasion itself it is sufficient here to say that his first expedition made no real advance beyond the landing-place [8], and that in his second [9], though he crossed the Thames, took the town of Cassivellaunus [10], exacted hostages, and nominally imposed a tribute, he is rightly said to have been rather the discoverer of the country than its conqueror [11].

[1] Caes. B. G. 2. 4, 7.

[2] Id. 4. 20, 1. This is given as Caesar's reason for invading the country.

[3] A full account of this find, with illustrations, is given by Mr. A. J. Evans in Archaeologia, vol. lii. The date is taken to be in the earlier half of the first century B.C.; coins of that period being found on the spot, and the absence of all Roman articles being against a later date. Cremation had been common in the bronze age (see Boyd Dawkins, p. 367), and prevailed still more in 'Late Celtic' times, with the further change that the bones were deposited not in barrows but in shallow circular pits in the flat; several pits being often grouped together, probably as belonging to the same family. Many such cemeteries had been found in Gaul, but none previously in Britain.

[4] In earlier British remains we find very rude hand-made vessels apparently modelled from basket-work: see Evans, l.l. and a specimen in Boyd Dawkins, p. 361. Most of the Aylesford specimens are in the British Museum, some in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

[5] Remains of what appear to be ovens for this purpose are found close by.

[6] This district would be near the Alpine region from which Polybius (see above, p. 31, n. 6) makes the Gauls spread. Mr. Evans supports the view of an affinity between the Gallic and Adriatic Veneti.

[7] The whole subject is fully treated by Mr. Evans in the Rhind Lectures above referred to; as is also the earlier Celtic art which has taken its name from the remains found in the great cemeteries at Hallstadt in the Salzkammergut. This isolated Aylesford find illustrates Caesar's statement (B. G. 14, 1) that the Cantii were the most advanced in civilization of the Britons.

[8] B G. 4. 20–36.

[9] Id. 5. 8–23.

[10] This is thought to have been probably Verulam. (St. Albans).

[11] c. 13, 2.

The civil wars and 'long forgetfulness of Britain even in peace' (due to the policy of Augustus and the treatment of his ideas as commands by Tiberius [1]), and the abortive project of Gaius [2], represent a period of nearly a hundred years, the later portion of which is marked by the long ascendency of Cunobelinus (the Cymbeline of Shakespeare), whose rule appears to have been the nearest approach to a general sovereignty traceable in Britain [3], and whose intimate relations with Rome are evidenced by the Roman designs and legends on his coinage [4]. Other evidence points no less to a growth of trade and friendly intercourse. Princes expelled by civil strife seek the protection of Roman emperors [5], others take care of and send back the shipwrecked troops of Germanicus [6], and the Britons are generally described by Strabo [7] as having sent gifts to the Capitol, and made the whole island seem almost as if it belonged to Rome by submitting to heavy duties both on their imports and exports [8]. Strabo no doubt repeats the official language in saying that a Roman occupation would be needless and costly, as requiring 'at least a legion and some cavalry,' at an expense fully equal to the expected revenue.

The motives which may have induced Claudius and his advisers to depart from the policy of Augustus [9], and the history of the invasion carried out under him [10], have been more fully entered into elsewhere [11]; and it is sufficient here briefly to repeat that the 'proxima pars' reduced during the governorship of Plautius and Ostorius [12] probably

[1] c. 13, 3.

[2] See c. 13, 4, and note. It is possible that his professed intention of invading Britain was merely one of the pretexts for collecting in Gaul an army really intended to deal with the disaffection of Lentulus Gaetulicus, and that the subsequent movements were merely to make some show of carrying out the purpose. See Ann. vol. ii. Introd. p. 17.

[3] In Suet. Cal. 44 he is called 'Britannorum rex,' and the extent of his influence is shown by the wide spread of his coinage over south eastern and central Britain: see A. ii. Introd. p. 129, n. 5.

[4] This is found, but to a less extent, also in the coinage of his brother Epaticcus and their father Tasciovanus: see Evans, Anc. Brit. Coins, p. 289, foll. They are mostly inscribed as struck at Camulodunum (Colchester), which is called his βασίλειον in Dio, 60. 21, 4.

[5] Thus Dumnobellaunus and another king fled to Augustus (Mon. Anc. 6. 2), Adminius, son of Cunobelinus, to Gaius (Suet. Cal. 44), Vericus or Bericus to Claudius (Dio, 60. 19, 1).

[6] A. 2. 24, 5.

[7] Strab. 4. 5, 3, 200: cp. also 2. 5, 8, 116.

[8] Among the imports Strabo specifies glass vessels, ivory trinkets, lyncuria (probably jacinth, King, Hist. of Gems, p. 160 foll.), &c.; for the exports (§ 199), corn, cattle, gold, silver, iron, hides, slaves, and sporting dogs, strangely omitting tin and lead.

[9] Augustus had warned his successors not to add to the empire (A. 1. 11, 7).

[10] On the apparent difference between what is said in this treatise and the account in Dio, see note on c. 13, 4.

[11] See A. ii. Introd. pp. 129, foll.

[12] A. Plautius Silvanus was legatus A. U. C. 796–800, A. D. 43–47; P. Ostorius Scapula A. U. C. 800–805, A. D. 47–52. See c. 14 and notes.

included the greater part of the Gaulish Britons, and that at the death of the latter governor the line of subjection extended in the west to the outposts of Caerleon (Isca Silurum)[1] and Wroxeter (Viroconium)[2], to which then or soon after were probably added Deva (Chester) and in the north-west Lindum (Lincoln)[3]; the chief independent and hostile tribes being the Silures and Ordovices of North and South Wales and the great tribe or confederacy of the Brigantes in the north[4]; the Damnonii of Devon and Cornwall being probably left out of count as neither under military occupation nor hostile[5].

It is to this treatise alone that we owe any mention of Cogidumnus, apparently already a king at the date of the Claudian invasion, and retained as a vassal of Rome to a time within the generation of Tacitus[6]. On the strength of the Goodwood inscription he is taken to have been set over the Regni of Sussex, but his relation to the person there mentioned is very difficult to determine[7].

We have another such vassal in Prasutagus, king of the Iceni and husband of Boudicca[8], and others may have lasted on elsewhere, but by the cessation of the national coinage their names become lost to us, and by the time of Tacitus the old tribal monarchies had become extinct, and had given way to the rule of magistrates of less authority ('principes') and to a state of faction and disunion such as the Romans no doubt would welcome and desire[9].

The great rising of A.U.C. 814, A.D. 61, coincides with the first military experience of Agricola[10]; but Tacitus does not show in this treatise any definite knowledge of its causes[11]; and even the little that he here tells us of its incidents does not agree in all respects with his later

[1] See A. 12. 32, 4, and note.

[2] See A. ii. Introd. p. 140.

[3] After the death of Ostorius, A. Didius Gallus was legatus A.U.C. 805–810, A.D. 52–57, and Q. Veranius in 811, A.D. 58, and Suetonius Paulinus had been there two years before the great rebellion. Tacitus credits both him and Didius with the occupation of 'castella' or 'praesidia' (c. 14, 3–4), and it is probable that Chester was occupied before the advance on Mona, and Lindum before the rebellion (Introd. l. l. 144, n. 4).

[4] See Introd. l. l. p. 141, and map at the end of this volume.

[5] The lead mines of the Mendip were worked by Romans very soon after the invasion, as is shown by the inscribed pigs of metal; but there is no evidence of any such occupation of Devon or Cornwall till much later: see Introd. l. l. p. 141, n. 5. They are however coloured in the map as part of the subject territory.

[6] See c. 14, 2.

[7] See note, l. l.

[8] He is described as 'longa opulentia clarus' (A. 14. 31, 1), and died a little before the great rising, leaving Caesar co-heir with his wife and daughters.

[9] c. 12, 1–2.

[10] c. 5, 1–4.

[11] In c. 15 general complaints are given, such as most provincial subjects could make: in the Annals we are told of the special grievances of the Iceni and Trinovantes, and of the outrages inflicted on Boudicca and her daughters.

and presumably more accurate account[1]. Its suppression resulted in no increase of territory, and the governorships of Petronius Turpilianus, Trebellius Maximus, and Vettius Bolanus[2], A.U.C. 814–824, A.D. 61–71, were occupied only with the restoration of order and industry, or distracted by the great crisis of the empire, until Vespasian, desirous of completing the conquest in the early stage of which he had himself played so great a part, appointed legati of military talent, instructed to resume a vigorous advance.

The achievements of Petilius Cerialis and Julius Frontinus (A.U.C. 824–830, A.D. 71–77[3]) are known to us only from the few lines allotted to them in this treatise, and were no doubt given more fully in the body of the Histories. Respecting the partial subjection by the former of the great northern confederacy of the Brigantes[4], we may find some slight illustration from other sources.

Three inscriptions[5] attest the presence in Britain of a legion not otherwise known there, the 'Secunda Adiutrix,' and two of the three point to it as quartered in Lindum (Lincoln). The first levy of the troops forming this legion dates only from A.D. 69, its formal enrolment from A.D. 70[6], and its service in Britain must fall between that date and its return to Germany in or before the Suebo-Sarmatian war of Domitian's later years[7]. It is thus a probable supposition that it had been sent out with Cerialis to replace the Fourteenth legion[8]. The evidence of inscriptions also shows that one of the original British legions, the Ninth, was quartered successively at Lindum and Eburacum (York)[9], and a probability has been elsewhere suggested that it was already at Lincoln in A.D. 61[10]. An inference is thus suggested that it was under Cerialis that the most important position of York was occupied, and the Ninth legion pushed on to it; its place at

[1] There is a discrepancy as to the storming of the 'castella' (see c. 16, 1, and note): whether he is right or wrong in here making the Brigantes take part in the rising (c. 31, 5) is uncertain.

[2] c. 16, 3–6.

[3] See c. 17, 2–3 and notes.

[4] This people had been hostile ever since the governorship of Didius Gallus (A. 12. 40, 3), and had recently been in arms against Bolanus (H. 3. 45). It will be remembered that Agricola served under Cerialis in these campaigns as legatus of the Twentieth legion (c. 8, 2–3).

[5] C. I. L. vii. 48, 185, 186.

[6] See Hübner, 'Heer,' p. 539, and in C. I. L. vii. p. 5. It had served under Cerialis in Germany (H. 4. 68, 5; 5. 14, 2; 16, 5).

[7] Its employment in this war is attested by an inscription (Henzen, 6766), and it must have been there that Hadrian served as its tribune (vit. Hadr. 2, 2). The date of the war is probably A.D. 92: see note on c. 41, 2.

[8] This legion, one of the original army, had been permanently removed in A.D. 70 (H. 4. 68, 5).

[9] C. I. L. vii. 183, 184; 241, 243, 244.

[10] See A. ii. Introd. p. 144, n. 4.

Lincoln being occupied by the new 'Secunda Adiutrix.' This again goes to show that his advance had been from the base of Lincoln, and that the portion of the Brigantes reduced by him had been the eastern districts. He appears also to have overrun, though we need not suppose him to have permanently occupied, a tract considerably north of York, as Pliny, writing apparently about A. D. 73 [1], speaks of not merely Roman hearsay, but information derived from the advance of its armies, as extending nearly to the Caledonian forest [2].

Tacitus tells us that, difficult as it was for any successor not to suffer by comparison with Cerialis, Julius Frontinus, 'a great man as far as men might then be great,' bore the burden of office successfully [3]. From his time dates the final exhaustion of the stubborn and desperate resistance [4], prolonged for near thirty years, of the Silures of South Wales and the adjacent counties, who are heard of no more as actual enemies, though the Second legion still remains quartered at Caerleon [5], and it is noticed that there are extremely few traces of the occupation of any part of Wales by Roman dwellings.

The first year, or rather half-year, of Agricola's governorship [6] is spent in completing the work of Frontinus [7] by dealing a crushing blow at another stubborn and long-standing resistance, that of the Ordovices [8], and by renewing with more complete success the attack of Suetonius Paulinus on the great stronghold of Druid fanaticism in Mona [9]. The pacification of North is thus added to that of South Wales, and the whole west of the island ceases to be an anxiety to the conquerors, and Agricola is left free to carry on the work in which he had co-operated with Cerialis in the north, and, as we are assured by

[1] The completion and dedication of his history in A.D. 77, and his death on Aug. 24, A.D. 79, preclude the supposition that he can be speaking of the campaigns of Agricola.

[2] See N. H. 4. 16, 30, 102, 'triginta prope iam annis notitiam eius (sc. Britanniae) Romanis armis non ultra vicinitatem silvae Calidoniae propagantibus.' The thirty years would be reckoned from the first invasion under Claudius.

[3] c. 17, 3.

[4] See A. 12. 39, 4, &c.

[5] See above p. 36. It was removed to Rutupium (Richborough) by the date of the 'Notitia,' not long before the abandonment of Britain.

[6] It is most probable that this year was A.D. 78. See notes on c. 18, 1.

[7] That he had begun to deal with the Ordovices seems probable from his having left an 'ala' of cavalry in their country, which they had annihilated (c. 18, 2).

[8] This tribe, occupying the greater part of North Wales, had been one of the chief strongholds of Caratacus (A. 12. 33, 2). The 'caesa prope universa gente' (c. 18, 4) is an obvious exaggeration, as they still occupy much the same territory in Ptolemy's survey, and were afterwards powerful: see Rhys, Celtic Britain, pp. 218, 302.

[9] c. 18, 4-5. For the attack on it by Paulinus see A. 14. 29-30.

his biographer, so to complete it as to leave no armed resistance in the whole remainder of the island.

The narrative of these campaigns, in spite of the exceptional means of information possessed by the writer, is to the last degree vague and uncertain. Even in his larger works, the military narratives of Tacitus are always unsatisfactory [1], wearing the character of, and probably derived from, biographies of the general [2]; and here, in a treatise professedly biographical, and dealing with a narrative no doubt intended to be rewritten as matter of general history in the larger work, his characteristic defects are more than ever prominent, and nearly half of the whole space allotted to six years' work is taken up with the narrative of the one great battle and the speeches preceding it, leaving for the rest a meagre and fragmentary outline omitting almost all details foreign to the writer's general purpose. To the slight indications thus given the industry of antiquaries in the north of England and Scotland has added a minute investigation of all the certain or even probable Roman remains traceable in those parts [3], on which much learned and ingenious speculation has been based which cannot here be discussed; the duty of an editor being of necessity mainly concerned with what can be found in or derived from the writer's statements.

As an illustration of the vagueness of the narrative of these six years it should be noticed that it is not until the second of them (reckoned as his third campaign) that we have any locality named at all, and then only one that cannot be identified [4], not till the following year that we touch firm ground in the mention of the isthmus between the Clyde and Forth [5]; so that the route by which he reached that point is wholly conjectural, and it is even an open question whether the year A.D. 79 was spent in the north at all, or in completing the pacification of North Wales.

If we think it the most probable supposition that the whole six years formed a connected northward movement, the next question is as to the line of advance. At the time of the Antonine Itinerary the great starting-point for the north was York, whence a main road advanced to Cataractonium (Catterick) and branched there in two

[1] Hence Mommsen (Hist. v. 165, E.T. i. 181) calls him 'the most unmilitary of historians.'

[2] As for instance of Germanicus and Corbulo

[3] For a list of works consulted see Preface.

[4] The 'aestuarium Tanaum' of c. 22, 1.

[5] c. 23, 2.

directions, the one going north-west to Luguvallium (Carlisle), the other nearly due north, crossing Hadrian's Wall near Corstopitum (Corbridge) and going on to Habitancum (Risingham) and Bremenium (High Rochester), whence there appears to have been an extension to Cramond on the Firth of Forth[1]. Whether any part of this road existed in Agricola's time we know not, but in the absence of any evidence either way we should incline to suppose some such line as taken by him. Some points should however be noticed which may give weight to a different supposition.

If there is any force in the suggestion[2] that the advance of Roman dominion by Cerialis took place in the east and north-east of the Brigantian territory, we should be led to suppose that Agricola had to subdue the western part of Yorkshire, Westmorland, and Cumberland. Also the fact that his campaign of the previous year had been in North Wales[3] lends colour to the supposition that an army destined for an advance next spring might have wintered at Chester, and taken that rather than York as its starting-point. It is also noticed that 'aestuaria[4]' are prominently mentioned among the difficulties of this year's march, which would be wholly absent from an inland route such as either of the roads above mentioned, and by no means a feature of an advance along the eastern coast[5], but would be most characteristic of the coasts of Lancashire and Cumberland. Nor, if we reject the reading 'Taum' in c. 22, 1, have we anything clearly pointing to any locality on the east[6] till his quarters are fixed on the Bodotria in A.D. 83[7]; and certainly he must have been present in force on the western side in A.D. 82, when he was collecting troops on the coast facing Ireland[8]. This of itself proves nothing, as he could easily have led them across from the Forth by the newly constructed lines[9], but it may have some weight when taken in connexion with the other considerations. A reason for preferring a circuitous coast-line to a shorter inland route may also be found in the desirability of drawing support

[1] These roads will be found laid down in maps of Roman Britain such as that of Kiepert in C. I. L. vii, or Mr. Haverfield's in the Oxford Historical Atlas of Modern Europe. Roman roads are thought to have often followed the course of previous British tracks.

[2] See above, p. 38.

[3] c. 18.

[4] c. 20, 2. The friths and forests are again alluded to in Agricola's speech, c. 33, 5. The 'silvae' also mentioned in both places appear to suit those parts (Ferguson, Hist. of Cumberland, p. 21), but are probably less distinctive.

[5] On this coast Tees Bay is the only estuary of any importance between the Humber and the Forth.

[6] See note on the possible suggestion that the 'Tanaus' might be the Solway.

[7] c. 25, 1.

[8] c. 24, 1.

[9] c. 23, 2.

from ships in marching through a country where supplies would be difficult to get; and, though the absence of ships is pointedly noticed in the hastily collected force at Mona [1], and the co-operation of a fleet in actual warfare is not mentioned until A.D. 83 [2], he must have collected a flotilla of some kind in or before A.D. 82 with a view to Ireland, and the episode of the Usipi shows that in A.D. 83 he had ships of war ('liburnicae') [3] on the western coasts.

These considerations may be taken for what they are worth as suggesting the probability of a march along or near the coast from Chester to Carlisle [4]; to which probability two slight pieces of possibly corroborative evidence may be added.

At Hardknot, near Ravenglass in Cumberland, a fragmentary inscription has been found bearing the letters 'GRIC LA [5].' It has been generally referred to Calpurnius Agricola [6], but might be a solitary trace of his more famous namesake, occurring in a locality with which we have some other reason for connecting him [7]. Also a tile has been found at Carlisle, the inscription on which is most probably to be taken as 'Leg. viiii [8].' The Ninth legion could not have been there before Agricola's time, and is known to have been part of his force [9], and had ceased altogether to exist by the time of Hadrian [10].

If it has been shown that there are some grounds, however slight, for supposing Agricola to have advanced from Chester by the western coast, and to have been the first occupier of Carlisle [11], the sequel to this would be a similar supposition that he pushed on still on the

[1] c. 18, 5.
[2] c. 25, 1. [3] c. 28, 2.
[4] Chancellor Ferguson (Hist. of Cumberland, p. 20, foll.) suggests a route from Chester, crossing near their mouths the Dee, Mersey, Ribble, Wyre, and Lune, thence by Morecambe Bay, Cartmel, the Duddon, and the Cumberland coast. We can at least say for such a supposed course that it abundantly satisfies the requirement as regards 'aestuaria.' A somewhat more inland route is known by Manchester, Lancaster, Overborough, and Windermere, reaching the coast at Ravenglass: see Mr. Haverfield's map and Ferguson, pp. 37–39. Whatever direction Agricola took, he could have only found British tracks, and must have made better roads as he went.
[5] C. I. L. vii. 334.
[6] This officer was legatus under Marcus Aurelius, circ. A.D. 162, and his name clearly occurs on a few other inscriptions, on the Wall and elsewhere: see C. I. L. vii. 225, &c.
[7] It is noted that coins of Domitian (A.D. 91) and Trajan, and some of Republican date, are found there: see Mr. Haverfield in Class. Rev. ix. 310.
[8] See a paper by Mr. Haverfield on Roman Inscriptions in Britain (Archaeol. Journal, xlix), Inscr. No. 116.
[9] c. 26, 1. [10] See below, p. 50.
[11] It is suggested (Ferguson, ch. 6) that Carlisle was occupied later than Stanwix, which is about a mile off and in a position to command it. But the latter place, being 'per lineam valli,' seems to belong to that construction; Luguvallium (Carlisle) itself is independent of it.

western side from that point to the Firth of Clyde ; but here even such faint indications of a route as we had before are wholly wanting. No road unquestionably Roman of later date in that direction is known to us beyond Blatum Bulgium (Birrens, near Ecclefechan [1]), nor could even undoubted remains of Roman camps or roads be assigned to this particular date in the absence of inscriptions.

An express statement in the narrative should here be noticed, that at the end of the campaign of A.D. 79 such communities as had submitted were surrounded with a line of fortified posts [2], in accordance apparently with a then prevalent mode of Roman warfare [3]. From this it has been inferred that Agricola may have been the first to occupy the line between the Solway and Tyne [4], afterwards famous as that of the great Wall of Hadrian [5]. But the attempt to support this supposition by any evidence derived from existing remains, or to draw distinctions between earlier and later works [6], has been unsuccessful, except so far as it has been noticed that some, perhaps several, of the 'stationes' or other camps of support may very probably have existed before the works connecting them [7], and, if taken to be prior to Hadrian's date, might be more likely to be the work of Agricola than of any one else known to us. It has been already shown [8] that, in the extreme vagueness of the account given, we have no certainty that the year A.D. 79 was spent in the north of England at all, so that the 'praesidia' might possibly have been in North Wales or elsewhere ; and even if it is assumed that such precautions would hardly have

[1] An ancient and possibly Roman road has been suggested, going up along the Annan, and thence reaching and following the line of the Clyde (see Kiepert's map). By any route that could well be supposed, the advantage which he might be supposed to have had in his previous course from being near the sea would be wholly wanting.

[2] c. 20, 3.

[3] Frontinus (Strat. I. 3, 10) commends a similar action of Domitian in Germany: 'limitibus per centum et viginti milia passuum actis non mutavit tantum statum belli, sed et subiecit dicioni suae hostes, quorum refugia nudaverat.' Prof. Pelham remarks on this plan of attack in a paper on the Roman frontier system (Trans. Cumb. and West. Antiq. Soc. xiv. p. 178). Those subjected would be thus cut off from unsubdued tribes who might take revenge on them for submission, or assist or shelter them in a subsequent revolt.

[4] Those who take the 'Tanaum aestuarium' to be the Solway would draw a similar conclusion from 'ponendis insuper castellis spatium fuit' (c. 22, 1).

[5] On this work see below, p. 51, n. 1.

[6] Some have supposed that the 'vallum' and 'stationes' were Agricola's work, and the wall Hadrian's, but the whole is now regarded as belonging to one plan.

[7] Some, as that at Chesters (Cilurnum), project beyond the wall northward, others are disconnected with it, or even behind the 'vallum.' There are also camps wholly unconnected with it.

[8] See above, p. 39.

been required elsewhere than in the north, we are still wholly without data in the narrative for fixing their locality [1]. Also it seems evident from the general geography of Tacitus that the northern was the only isthmus known to him [2]. To say that the southern isthmus also may nevertheless have been known to Agricola, and that he may have thought fit to make some line of communication across it with some forts for protection [3], and that Tacitus has mentioned it thus cursorily in ignorance of the configuration of the land or importance of the work, is to make a supposition certainly not impossible or even unlikely, but altogether conjectural. The same might be said of a suggestion that if the advance of Agricola was from Chester by Carlisle to the Clyde, another Roman force may have been simultaneously pushed on from York to the Forth; which is as probable as any other supposition for which no evidence can be found. If we regard the eastern side as having been already in great part overrun by Cerialis [4], the advance would there be easier, and a biographer might well omit notice of the subordinate work of others [5]. There would be reason to suppose that both ends of the isthmus were secured during the construction of the lines between them. Also, if two whole years are supposed to be spent before the upper isthmus is reached, much time may be supposed to have been taken in expeditions from the line of march against various tribes, as also in road-making [6], fort-building, and other military works, all of which the biographer has ignored.

Passing on to our first clear landmark, the occupation of the northern isthmus in A.D. 81, we still find difficulties; for all other testimony assigns this to the time of Antoninus Pius and to his legatus Lollius Urbicus [7], and the existing remains show no trace of

[1] It seems limited to some region regarded as a 'nova pars Britanniae' (c. 20, 3), though before reaching the 'novae gentes' of c. 22, 1. Mr. Skene (pp. 43–44) speaks of numerous camps and stations in Dumfries, Kirkudbright, and Wigton, and thinks this the locality spoken of.

[2] Previous descriptions, which had recognized no isthmus, are accepted as true 'citra Caledoniam' (c. 10, 4).

[3] It is to be noted that much stress is laid on Agricola's general skill in selecting positions for forts, and securely constructing and victualling them (c. 22, 2).

[4] See above, p. 38.

[5] Agricola himself is said to have been most careful to give due credit to all (c. 22, 4); yet none of his officers are mentioned in this treatise except one killed in the battle (c. 37, 6); though in a general history they might well have found place. Probably a mere biography of Germanicus would have said nothing about the retreat of Caecina (A. 1. 63–68).

[6] Calgacus is made to allude to the forced labour in such work (c. 31, 2).

[7] The biographer of Antoninus says (vit. 5, 4), 'Britannos per Lollium

any earlier work. On the other hand, the testimony of Tacitus is most explicit, and it is but natural to suppose that the first Roman general who reached the place would have seen its great advantage as a means of communication from sea to sea, and would have made a road across it, secured in some sort by fortifications, which might have been afterwards wholly obliterated by stronger works. His road would no doubt be of the nature of a 'limes[1],' but that it was intended to be not a boundary but a fresh base for further advance[2], is evident from the history of the succeeding campaigns. It was no doubt supported at each end by naval stations[3].

The narrative of A.D. 82[4] is mainly taken up with the design of conquering Ireland, and again is full of difficulty. On the then existing knowledge of that island[5] little need be said: to Caesar it is no more than a name[6]; Agrippa's estimate of its dimensions is the merest guesswork[7]; Strabo imagines it as the limit of habitability, and its people as almost perishing of cold and as utter savages[8]: a basis of real information is seen in Mela's statement that it was ill-suited for corn-growing, but the richest of pastures[9]; and by the time

Urbicum vicit legatum alio muro cespititio summotis barbaris ducto.' This emperor's name is frequent in inscriptions along the line, and that also of Urbicus occurs (C. I. L. vii. 1125). The work, popularly called 'Graham's Dyke,' appears to have been about 34 miles long, from Carriden to West Kilpatrick (or perhaps extending to Dumbarton), and, though much less strong than the southern wall, to have consisted of a great ditch, thought to have been 40 feet wide and 20 deep, and south of it a vallum of earth or turf sods (with foundations of stone where ready to hand), and behind both a road. In the time of Horsley and Roy (the middle of the last century) ten stations or camps appear to have been traceable, and some more probably existed in the eastern part where no traces remain. In one or two places there appear to have been also traces of smaller 'castella' or watchtowers. Some twelve places on it have furnished inscriptions, and much of the information respecting it is collected by Hübner in C. I. L. vii. p. 191, foll.

[1] On such barricaded frontier roads, with forts at the points of crossing, see Mommsen, Hist. v. 111, n.; E. T. i. 122, n. 1.

[2] It was also no doubt a means of cutting off the subjected from the independent tribes, as described above (p. 42, n. 3); cp. 'summotis velut in aliam insulam hostibus' (c. 23, 2).

[3] A Roman road ended at Cramond, and inscriptions and remains have been found there and at other places on the Firth of Forth, but the date of their occupation is not known. There may probably have been suitable points near the ends of the line.

[4] c. 24.

[5] Its insularity, by whatever means ascertained, is taken by all as a known fact.

[6] B. G. 5. 13, 2.

[7] Pliny, N. H. 4. 16, 30, 102, makes him reckon it to be 600 M. P. long, and 300 broad, about double the real size. Tacitus, as in the case of Britain (c. 10, 2), is cautious, and says only that, though smaller than Britain, it is larger than the islands of the Mediterranean.

[8] 2. 5, 8, 115. His error as to its geographical position has been noticed above (p. 23, n. 5).

[9] He appears to describe (3. 6, 53)

of which Tacitus speaks the ubiquitous Roman 'negotiator' had made himself acquainted with its points of access and harbours[1], having probably followed the track of earlier traders, as we find that its Goidelic people had already in prehistoric times so far advanced as not only to have worked their gold mines, but to have made articles in that metal which found their way to the continent[2]. It is not therefore to be wondered at that the Roman greed of conquest turned also in that direction; and we find much the same mixture of commercial and sentimental reasons given which may probably have been used some forty years previously for carrying on the Roman arms from Gaul to Britain[3].

It has not generally been supposed that Agricola or any other Roman general ever set foot on that island, but a view founded by Pfitzner on this passage requires consideration[4]. It is contended that the sea which he crossed ('transgressus') was the North Channel, and that the unknown people were the Irish; that Agricola led the van ('nave prima') in a voyage from Galloway to somewhere near Belfast, landed, and fought several successful battles, but was recalled by Domitian, and that the subsequent military occupation of the coast facing Ireland was partly in fear of retaliatory incursions from thence, partly in the hope that the necessity of repeating the expedition would afterwards become plain. The great and, as it seems to me, insuperable objection to such a supposition is the apparent impossibility of imagining any sufficient motive which could have led Tacitus to treat such an event so cursorily, and not to help his readers by a single word to gather that Ireland had ever actually been reached. The

the danger sometimes resulting from clover feeding ('ut pecora . . . diutius pasta dissiliant'). In other points he shows no knowledge, making its area nearly equal to that of Britain, and its people the lowest of known savages.

[1] c. 24, 2. In Ptolemy's survey (2. 2) the capes and bays are fairly known, and a list is given of names of peoples all round the coasts, and of a few places inland.

[2] Mr. A. J. Evans, in his Second Rhind Lecture, speaks of Ireland as an early centre of a class of goldsmith's work, based on Hallstadt (see above, p. 34, n. 7) and Italic models. The chief gold-producing district was Wicklow.

[3] Cp. c. 24, 1, 'siquidem Hibernia . . . valentissimam imperii partem magnis invicem usibus miscuerit'; and again (§ 4) 'idque etiam adversus Britanniam profuturum, si Romana ubique arma, et velut e conspectu libertas tolleretur.'

[4] In a pamphlet 'Ist Irland jemals von einem römischen Heere betreten worden' (Neu Strelitz, 1893)? Dr. Pfitzner takes up a question started by him in 1881, and quotes and replies to Mr. W. T. Watkin's objections (in the Manchester Guardian) to his view. In Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher, vol. 153 (1896), pp. 560–564, he further replies to objections by Andresen. See Gudeman (Class. Rev. xi. 328) and Haverfield (Id. 447). Juv. 2, 159, 160 can be so taken as to appear corroborative.

achievement must have been the most remarkable in Agricola's whole career, and worthy of comparison with the first Roman invasion of Britain; and his biographer might well have dwelt on its perils and successes and on his recall[1] in the full tide of victory by a jealous tyrant, whose memory Tacitus had then no motive whatever for sparing, and every motive for reproaching.

The passage is undoubtedly one in which any supposition involves difficulties; but we seem to find less in supposing that a reconnaissance in some force was made across the Firth of Clyde to Bute and Argyleshire[2], and that after some slight progress[3] Agricola saw the impracticability of making such a country a theatre of war, and withdrew with the intention of transferring his army to the east and penetrating Caledonia from the Forth. On such a tentative expedition a biographer would naturally say little.

Pfitzner may probably be right in arguing that the forces collected on the coast fronting Ireland[4] were intended, at least in part, to remain there, and that the Usipi and 'liburnicae' of c. 28 belonged to them; also in thinking that the 'spes' denoted a distant rather than immediate purpose, and that the words used do not altogether exclude the 'formido[5]'; but for the latter we need not suppose the Irish to have been roused by recent invasion. Dalriad Scots from Antrim may, for all that we know, have already become dangerous pirates, or possibly Goidels on the British side of the Channel might be helped in a rising by brethren across the sea; and such possibilities, insignificant while the main army was on the west, would operate against wholly stripping that part of troops and ships, irrespective of such 'hopes' as the presence of the fugitive Irish chieftain[6] might suggest. Even if Domitian had only forbidden a prepared and

[1] We may compare the brief but perfectly explicit account of the recall of Corbulo from beyond the Rhine by Claudius (A. 11. 19–20).

[2] The people of western Caledonia (Epidii, &c.) might well be no less 'ignotae ad id tempus gentes' than the Irish; cp. the use of 'incognitae ad id tempus' of the Orkneys (c. 10, 5; cp. above, p. 23).

[3] We must not press the meaning of such a term as 'domuit,' which is also used (l. l.) of the Orkneys.

[4] As a sentence coupled by 'que' usually stands in very close connexion with that preceding it, it has been thought that the place where these troops were collected was also in Argyleshire, on the peninsula of Cantire, than which no more improbable supposition could be made. Mr. Haverfield is probably right (Class. Rev. ix. 310) in noting that more need not be meant than that the one act was subsequent to the other. The most likely locality is that of Wigton and Galloway, whence is still the shortest passage to Ireland in use, and whence the army of William III crossed in 1690.

[5] c. 24, 1.

[6] c. 24, 3.

organized expedition, or withdrawn troops destined for it[1], Tacitus would hardly have forborne to tell us so. If the project had taken sufficient shape to be submitted to that emperor, the answer might well have been that Caledonia should be first reduced; and the scheme would have dropped through finally by Agricola's recall. Nor in all probability had Romans any reason to regret that an enterprise the difficulties of which seem to have been so underestimated[2] was not subjected to the risk of failure.

In the narrative of A.D. 83 we touch firm ground for a moment in the statements that the scene of war was 'trans Bodotriam[3],' and that the fleet, now brought up in force to explore the coast beforehand and support the movements of the army by attacks from sea, so closely accompanied the army as often to mingle sailors and soldiers in one camp[4]. We gather that the line of march must have been along the south and east coast of Fifeshire, but as to the most distant point reached, or indeed as to any further geography of this year's campaign or the next, we are still wholly in the dark, not because we have no names, but because those given ('mons Graupius,' the 'Boresti,' 'portus Trucculensis[5]') are mentioned here alone and no other evidence helps us to their identification; and whoever has before him the fear of being misled by a 'Kaim of Kinprunes' or such an 'inscription' as the famous 'A.D. L.L.[6]' must needs suspend his judgement. Even where we have most trustworthy investigators, and where undoubted Roman camps are found, as at Ardoch, some twelve miles north of Stirling[7], it must be borne in mind that this is not the only

[1] The weakening of the Ninth legion, probably at this date (see note on c. 26, 1), would not have made an important difference, and the withdrawal of the 'Secunda Adiutrix' need not be dated so early (see above. p. 37), and its original despatch to Britain was probably earlier (see above, l.l.) than Pfitzner places it.

[2] It seems impossible to believe that one legion and a moderate auxiliary force (c. 24, 3) could have sufficed to occupy and hold so large a country, peopled chiefly by hardy and warlike Celts, and abounding in natural difficulties. It will be remembered that in Strabo's time a similar force was supposed to be what would be needed for the occupation of Britain (see above, p. 35).

[3] c. 25, 1.

[4] The expression 'primum adsumpta in partem virium' (c. 25, 1) need not imply that no ships at all had been present previously; see above, p. 41.

[5] c. 29, 1; 38, 3; 5.

[6] Scott, Antiquary, ch. 4.

[7] See Hübner, C. I. L. vii. p. 205 and references given by him. The inscription stated to have come from thence, the only one found north of the Forth, is taken to belong to the end of the second century. It may here be added that the names 'Victoria' and 'Castra Alata' or 'Pinnata' (στρατόπεδον πτερωτόν), within the limits of Caledonia, occur in Ptolemy (2. 3, 9, 13), probably before the date of Lollius Urbicus, the next known invader of these regions; but without knowledge

known Roman invasion of those regions; and even if it is correctly maintained that Roman encampments of apparently different dates exist sometimes in the same locality [1], we may be only comparing the work of Urbicus with that of Severus, or either of them with others unknown to us. That the site of the great battle was not very distant from Agricola's sea base, is suggested by the fleet being sent on before to strike terror and by the march being made 'expedito exercitu [2],' i.e. without heavy stores or baggage, to the camp near which they fought [3]. Subject to this, the scene may be laid wherever a background of hills and woodland rises out of the plain, and almost every antiquary has had his own favourite spot. The same obscurity hangs over the person of Calgacus, a mere stage-figure who comes forward to make a speech, and is never heard of before or after it.

Respecting the Roman forces which took part in this battle, and in the campaigns generally, we have somewhat firmer ground to go upon [4]. It is certain that Agricola had at his disposal three legions of the original army of occupation, the Second ('Augusta'), the Ninth, and the Twentieth [5]. To these it has been shown that we may probably add the Second ('Adiutrix') [6], but we know not whether all were actually taken, or if so, in what strength they were present [7]. We are told that the Ninth was weak [8], and may assume that all had to leave a considerable dépôt behind at head-quarters; so that, even on the supposition that four legions were with him, his legionary force may probably not have exceeded some 15,000. The auxiliary force present, though it bore the whole strain of the battle, appears not to have been numerous; 8,000 foot and 3,000 horse being placed in line [9], and a further cavalry force of four 'alae,' probably about 2,500, being held in reserve [10]. The auxiliary foot are certainly below the

of their locality, and of the source whence Ptolemy got the names, they hardly help us.

[1] This, according to R. Stuart and others, is the case at Ardoch; but the smaller camp there is the only unquestioned one, and its apparent date later (see note above). That the larger enclosures are also Roman camps is more doubtful.

[2] c. 29, 2.

[3] c. 35, 2.

[4] This whole subject is very fully treated by Hübner, 'Das Römische Heer in Britannien,' Hermes xvi (1881), pp. 514-584, and Urlichs, 'Die Schlacht am Berge Graupius' (Würzburg, 1882).

[5] These had their headquarters at Caerleon, York, and Chester respectively. On the fourth original legion (the Fourteenth) see above, p. 37.

[6] See above, l. l.

[7] None are named in these campaigns except the Ninth. Urlichs (p. 5) argues that his three columns (c. 25, 4) could only have contained one legion each, as the Ninth, the weakest, had no other with it, but this is not conclusive; see note there.

[8] c. 26, 1, where see note.

[9] c. 35, 2.

[10] c. 37, 1.

usual complement for even three legions, and it must be supposed that considerable detachments were left behind to guard the forts between the Clyde and Forth and elsewhere [1]. It is also obvious that in a country where supplies must have been so hard to come by, a general would take no more troops than he actually required, and would trust to the quality rather than the number of his forces. As to their nationality, we know that some Britons were among them [2], that the rest were apparently Gauls and Germans [3], that among the latter were some Batavian and two Tungrian cohorts [4]. As the auxiliaries sufficed to win the battle, we should hardly suppose the enemy to have been extremely numerous, and we find the estimates both of their numbers and of their slain less extravagant than is usual in Roman narratives [5]. It is hardly likely that a very large force could be concentrated in those regions, and the ready access to places of refuge would lessen the carnage.

The defeat and dispersion of a national force that had taken some time to collect and discipline would no doubt prevent the assemblage of another for some time to come; but the season was too far advanced for further progress [6], to winter in such a desolate country impossible; so that his departure, after passing through and taking hostages from the Boresti [7], to winter quarters, probably on or near the Firth of Forth [8], needs no explanation.

The mission northwards of the fleet appears to betoken some

[1] Calgacus is made to speak as if none were left behind (c. 32, 4), but this need not be pressed. It is evident from c. 28 that there were bodies elsewhere, and that, where unsupported by the best troops, they were a danger.

[2] c. 29, 2; 32, 1. No 'cohortes' or 'alae Britannorum' are known to have been in Britain; the 'Brittones' of some inscriptions (C. I. L. vii. Index, p. 336) being taken to be Gauls (Hübner, 'Heer,' p. 565), and the reason for such precaution being obvious. These British recruits were no doubt drafted into bodies with other titles, as appears from inscriptions to have been often the case.

[3] This is inferred from the speech of Calgacus (c. 32, 4).

[4] c. 36, 1. Urlichs ('Schlacht,' p. 14) has constructed with great ingenuity a list of thirteen cohorts and seven alae, making up such a total as that above given. But our only evidence as to the auxiliary troops present in Britain before Hadrian's time is furnished by three 'diplomata' of A.D. 98, 103, and 105 (Eph. Ep. iv. 500; C. I. L. vii. 1193, 1194), from which he makes his selection by omitting (see note above) all others but Gauls or Germans.

[5] He reckons them as originally 30,000, with some subsequent increase (c. 29, 4), and their slain as 10,000 (c. 37, 6). He also gives the precise number of Roman dead (360), which is an exception to his usual practice; see note.

[6] 'Exacta iam aestate spargi bellum nequibat' (c. 38, 5).

[7] On this people see c. 38, 3, and note. The narrative seems to connect his arrival among them with the despatch of the fleet.

[8] The narrative only states that winter quarters were reached by a very leisurely march.

ambitious project for the next year; but as Agricola appears not to have gone with it, the fewest possible words are given to it[1]. Starting from a point on the eastern coast, if we suppose it to have gone only as far as some already known point on the north-west coast and back again, touching at the Orkneys and coming within sight of Shetland[2], it would have achieved a great success for an enterprise beginning so late in the season, and removed the last doubt as to the insularity of Britain[3].

With this incident our narrative ends. The plans, whatever they were, for the future were cut short by Agricola's recall[4], and we are told no more than that all was quiet at his departure[5], and that 'Britain, thoroughly subdued, was immediately let go[6].' By the latter expression it may probably be meant that troops were withdrawn for more pressing needs elsewhere[7]; but it is impossible to suppose that the conquest had been as thorough as is asserted. Before the end of Domitian's rule the chariot of a national leader, Arviragus, was in the field[8], and in Hadrian's time there were forts of the Brigantes to be stormed[9], and some words of Fronto preserve record of a great disaster[10], in which probably the Ninth legion perished[11], and nearly the whole fabric of Agricola's work in the north seems to have melted like a vision[12]. These dim allusions can be read in the light of subsequent evidence showing the magnitude of the danger and of the defence needed against barbarian aggression, the vast works constructed from Tyne to Solway and their elaborate

[1] c. 38, 5, where see note.

[2] c. 10, 6, and note.

[3] See above, p. 23.

[4] 'This may be supposed to have taken place in the spring of A. D. 85.

[5] 'Tradiderat . . . successori suo provinciam quietam tutamque' (c. 40, 3).

[6] 'Perdomita Britannia et statim missa' (some read 'omissa' with Lips.), H. 1. 2, 3.

[7] The 'legio Secunda Adiutrix' was probably withdrawn then, or perhaps earlier: see above, p. 37. From that time Britain has only three legions.

[8] Among the favourable omens drawn by Domitian's courtiers from the great turbot is 'de temone Britanno excidet Arviragus' (Juv. 4, 126, 127). Nothing is known of him, and the old scholiast's comment, 'falcatis nam curribus Britannorum rex Arbila' is still more obscure. The scene is taken by some (see Mayor) as laid in A. D. 85 (the year of Agricola's recall), but a later event may be antedated, as the satire must have been written after Domitian's death.

[9] 'Dirue . . . castella Brigantum' (Juv. 14, 196). Juvenal was himself at one time tribune of a cohort which is known to have been stationed in Britain (Henzen, Insc. 5599; C. I. L. x. 5382).

[10] 'Quid? avo vestro Hadriano imperium obtinente quantum militum . . . a Britannis caesum' (Fronto, Ep. de Bello Parthico, 217–218 Naber). Cp. 'Britanni teneri sub Romana ditione non poterant' (vit. Hadr. 5, 2). Hadrian himself came to Britain in A. D. 119.

[11] The last record of it is in A. D. 109 (C. I. L. vii. 241), and from Hadrian's time it is replaced at York by the 'Sexta Victrix.'

[12] All is thought to have been lost north of York.

safeguards against attacks on either side [1], the cautious advance, some twenty years later, from the basis of this stronghold, to a reoccupation of the lines between the Clyde and Forth with works that might have been called great if they were not eclipsed by greater [2]; still more so by our evidence of the shortlived character of this recovery of the high water mark of Roman conquest [3], and the successful resistance of the Caledonians to an army, perhaps the largest ever sent by Rome to this island [4], and led by one of its ablest emperors in person, showing that it was only in Roman imagination that Britain was ever at any date 'perdomita.'

However slight may have been Agricola's claim to have permanently enlarged the limits of the province [5], he may well have left behind him much work beneath the notice of his biographer in opening up the country by roads or occupying well selected posts which may have made the task of his successors easier. Above all, it is but just to note what is said of his civil administration. We are to contrast him with the governor of the usual type, who, like his master at Rome, obliged all aspirants for his favour to court his influential freedmen.

[1] It is impossible here to enter into a description of the Great Wall or to discuss the problems connected with it. The most accessible account is that in Bruce's Handbook (4th ed. 1895). It is sufficient here to say that the works, which are about seventy-three miles long from Wallsend to Bowness, consist of a solid stone wall, about eight feet thick, and probably once about eighteen feet high, with a deep ditch on the north side, and on the south the 'vallum,' consisting of three earthern ramparts and a fosse, protecting a road along the line; also some seventeen 'stationes' or fortified camps are traced, generally of from three to five acres area, and about four miles apart, with smaller 'castella' about a mile apart and small turrets or watch-towers between these again.

[2] These works (see p. 43, n. 7) were plainly not intended to supersede the Wall of Hadrian, but to be an advanced post from it. Antoninus is said (Paus. 8. 43) to have chastised the Brigantes for aggression on a tribe called the Genuni.

[3] The inscriptions on the Graham's Dyke record no emperor before or after Antoninus Pius, and it is generally thought that this line was not held for more than half a century from his time; the supposed later notices of it being generally taken to refer to the Lower Wall (see Hübner, C. I. L. vii, p. 192); though it has been held by many, and amongst them by Mommsen (Hist. v. 170, n. 1; E. T. i. 187, n. 1), that the statement of Aur. Vict. 20 respecting Severus, 'in Britannia vallum per triginta duo passuum milia a mari ad mare deducit' refers to a restoration of it by that emperor. The Ravenna geographer, in giving ten stations on the narrowest point in Britain from sea to sea (5. 31, p. 434, 19), evidently follows some account drawn up when it was standing.

[4] The statement of Dio (76. 13, 2) that Severus, after reaching the extreme north of the island, lost 50,000 men without a battle may be a great exaggeration, but seems to show that the expedition was on a very large scale, and the privations of any large army in that region must have been extremely great. After his last campaign he returned in broken health to York, and died there in Feb A. D. 211. His inscriptions, though chiefly found in the north, are all below the upper, many below the lower isthmus.

[5] Cerialis, if he occupied York, had done more in that respect.

We are told that he at once began his rule by the most difficult of all reforms, that of his own establishment, dealing directly and openly, and with full recognition of antecedents, in his dispensation of patronage, and observing a just sense of proportion in the treatment of offences[1] (virtues which might well seem commonplace but for the implied suggestion that they were exceptional), and that even from his first year he took measures to abolish inequalities of incidence and other vexatious anomalies tending to make the levying of the tribute and corn supply more profitable to the officials and burdensome to the taxpayer[2].

Again, as regards the promotion of the arts and appliances of peace and Roman culture, he is credited with what amounts to a new departure in policy[3]. We are led to suppose that the history of Roman Britain had been as yet one of military progress only. Most of the Britons who may have at the outset adopted Roman ways are probably to be reckoned among the victims of the massacre of A.D. 61[4], and the years passed since had apparently been marked by little more than restoration of authority and order and fresh extensions of dominion. But Agricola, as we are told, at once saw the wisdom of promoting a rivalry amongt he various communities in the erection of temples, market-places, mansions[5]. Of the first, the temple to Claudius at Camulodunum[6] is the only one previously on record; the second, besides facilitating trade and other intercourse for business, might often form the nuclei of towns, especially at important road centres; in the third we trace the beginning of the villas, the later remains of which are among the most interesting relics of Roman Britain[7]. Nor was this all. Following the example set in other provinces[8], he established seminaries for the instruction of highborn youths in the Latin tongue, and encouraged their rivalry with the attainments of the

[1] See c. 19, 2–3.

[2] See c. 19, 4–5, and notes.

[3] See c. 21, and notes. This policy is dated from the winter of A.D. 79, and is no doubt to be regarded as continued throughout his rule, and must have taken some time to develop itself.

[4] In the 70,000 then said to have perished 'socii' as well as 'cives' are reckoned (A. 14. 33, 5).

[5] c. 21, 1.

[6] A. 14. 31, 6.

[7] Several of these, especially the great villa at Bignor, Sussex, and others in Gloucestershire, Somerset, Dorset, and Lincolnshire, are described and splendidly illustrated in S. Lysons' great work 'Reliquiae Britannico-Romanae,' 1813–1817. Many others have been discovered since, among which perhaps the best known is that near Brading in the Isle of Wight. Most, if not all, of these are of late Roman date.

[8] On the school of this kind established by Augustus at Augustodunum (Autun) in Gaul, see A. 3. 43, 1; on the progress of the Latin language in other provinces, see A. i. Introd. p. 129.

Gauls, with the result that the acquirement of Latin became matter of emulation in the place of previous aversion [1]. It is added that the progress of Romanizing influences advanced apace; to wear the toga became a mark of honour [2]; 'men went on to such demoralizing luxuries as lounging in colonnades, baths, refined banquets, and in their ignorance gave the name of civilization to what was really a characteristic of servitude.' It was only in the north, where such customs probably took no root, that any energy of resistance, or sentiment of national independence still survived.

A suggestion should here be noticed, that perhaps an exemplification of the civil policy of Agricola may be furnished by Calleva (Silchester [3]), a town apparently founded not later than the Flavian epoch, and bearing some marks which might well belong to a British town fashioned after the model of Roman towns, and representing an effort to assimilate British and Roman manners and culture. However this may be, it is important to note this description of the Romanizing of a province which on the whole came less than most others under Roman influence, and of which we know so little history that is not military.

SECTION VI.

THE LAST YEARS OF AGRICOLA, AND TYRANNY OF DOMITIAN.

NOTE.—In this section, and in the notes on the corresponding chapters of the text, I have been often indebted to M. Stéphane Gsell's 'Essai sur le règne de l'Empereur Domitien,' Paris, 1893.

THE last eight chapters of this biography have a historical interest as the only extant description by Tacitus of any part of the rule of

[1] Juvenal tells us (15, 111–112) that in his time Gallic eloquence had trained lawyers in Britain, and adds the satiric touch that even Thule talks of hiring a rhetorician. Martial says (11. 3, 5), 'dicitur et nostros cantare Britannia versus' (apparently in A. D. 96). Plutarch (de def. orac. 2) brings in a rhetorician, Demetrius of Tarsus, as returning home from a stay in Britain.

[2] On the permission of this in the provinces and its use as a symbol of loyalty, see Mommsen, Hist. v. 64, E. T. i. 70.

[3] This suggestion has been made by Mr. F. Haverfield in the Athenaeum of Dec. 15, 1894. It is pointed out that coins of the Neronian and Flavian period are common there, and that the architectural fragments point to an early foundation; that the ground plan would show that it was laid out on one scheme, and so far resembles as to suggest that it may have been modelled on the early Roman municipium of Verulam. It is on an important road centre.

Domitian, and, with the exception of some allusions in the Histories, our only evidence as to his judgement of it. He would no doubt distinguish it into periods, of which the last and worst was after Agricola's death [1], but during his whole rule we are given to understand that no such freedom of opinion was tolerated as to make historical writing possible [2]. Nor does Tacitus credit him at any time with military success. We are given a sharp contrast between the signal victories of Agricola and Domitian's sham triumph from Germany, when slaves bought in trade and tricked out to resemble prisoners of that nation were paraded in the eyes of Rome [3]. So we are to believe that Agricola, though outwardly distinguished by rewards [4], was recalled from an all but completed conquest, lest his name should become too eminent in that field of military glory which an emperor had to guard so jealously as his own [5], and that even the recall had to be managed with caution, by keeping a belief in the background that he was to pass on to the great prize of Syria [6]. However this may be, no contumacy need have been feared from Agricola; he obeyed the summons loyally, avoided the ostentatious welcome of friends by arrival at night, is received by the emperor coldly, mingled with the train of courtiers [7], spends the last eight years of his life in privacy, and yet, as we are told, in disfavour and even in peril.

As regards the disparagement of the Chattan war of Domitian in A. D. 83, we know that, though repeated elsewhere by Tacitus and also by Pliny and Dio [8], it is confronted by the evidence of facts, showing that, though probably without brilliant victories, it resulted in a considerable permanent extension of the frontier [9], which is more than could be said of the British campaigns of Agricola. Nor could the recall of Agricola be rightly regarded as premature or unjustifiable. He had held office as long as his two predecessors together [10], longer than the usual tenure of Caesarian provinces [11], or that of any previous

[1] c. 44, 5.

[2] The 'silentium' extended over the whole fifteen years (c. 3, 2–3), and was in full force at the time of Agricola's recall (c. 39, 3).

[3] c. 39, 2.

[4] c. 40, 1.

[5] c. 39, 3.

[6] c. 40, 1.

[7] c. 40, 3.

[8] See note on c. 39, 2.

[9] See note l. l., also the testimony of the contemporary Frontinus (above, p. 42, n. 3) as to the 'limes' constructed by this emperor for 120 miles; by which a considerable tract in the Taunus region (see 9. 29, 4, and note, Mommsen, Hist. v. 136; E. T. i. 150) was included in the empire. The Chatti cease to be active enemies of Rome for more than a century from that time.

[10] See above, p. 37.

[11] These were usually held for three, or not more than five years. The few instances of exceptionally long tenure, as Poppaeus Sabinus (A. 6. 39, 3, and note) and Memmius Regulus (A. 14. 47, 2, and note), are not those of provinces circumstanced like Britain.

governor of Britain, longer apparently than any one outside the imperial family had ever held a province during permanent warfare [1]: as far as we know, he had had a free hand in conducting the war, and sufficient force and means at his disposal [2]: in reaching the isthmus from Clyde to Forth the Roman arms had attained what might well seem, even from existing knowledge, an advantageous halting point, at which a rest spent in securing the ground won south of that line would be better policy than an unprofitable further advance into Caledonia [3].

At Rome the position of a man of his antecedents had no doubt at that time its peculiar dangers. We are told that from Moesia, Dacia, Germany and Pannonia reports of disasters were constantly arriving [4], and popular talk pointed, whether in good faith or insidious malice, to the one man whose proved military capacity could retrieve Roman fortune, and contrasted his qualities with the indolence and faint-heartedness of others [5]. At such a crisis a man had no worse enemies than his panegyrists [6]; the informer was ever on the watch, and we are told, certainly not to Domitian's discredit, that Agricola was repeatedly accused, and the charge as repeatedly dismissed without a trial [7].

His preservation is stated to have been due to that absence of all self-assertion and display [8], which was so palpable a trait of his character [9] that even Domitian could not suspect it to be the mask of dangerous qualities. Yet a single incident sufficed to show him that he needed to walk warily, and to avoid even such dignity as came unsought. The time drew near when he might expect as matter of routine to have a year's proconsulate of Asia or Africa allotted to him [10]. These offices, although unmilitary [11], gave for the time being a position of comparative independence; their holders might be

[1] Corbulo's tenure of command in the East was longer, but he was not continuously in the same province.

[2] That his Irish expedition was countermanded or prevented should not be assumed (see above, p. 46).

[3] Cp. 'neque enim arva nobis aut metalla' (c. 31, 3).

[4] On these see notes on c. 41, 2.

[5] c. 41, 3. Such statements may appear not altogether consistent with what is said just above (c. 40, 4), that his unostentatious bearing made people ask incredulously the grounds of his reputation; but even there it is implied that he was famous.

[6] 'Pessimum inimicorum genus laudantes' (c. 41, 1).

[7] l. l.

[8] c. 40, 4.

[9] It has been shown (see above, p. 11) that Tacitus desires to make this plain throughout his biography.

[10] See c. 42, 1, and note.

[11] The proconsulate of Africa had involved the command of a legion till the time of Gaius (H. 4. 48, 2).

important in troubled times[1], and even recently Cerialis Civica had incurred suspicion in this capacity and had paid the forfeit of his life[2]. The emperor could debar a senator from drawing his lot[3]; but in such a case as Agricola's Domitian would desire to avoid so strong a measure and yet to prevent what was unacceptable. So the agency of confidants is set to work to put pressure on Agricola, to hint his peril, to promise their good offices to extricate him, and the farce is gone through of a humble request answered by a gracious permission to decline the office, without, as we are told, the customary offer of the salary[4]. We know no more of him during these last eight years but that he lived on, not in affluent circumstances[5], unharmed, if not unmenaced. As to his part as a senator in the state trials of the time[6], the silence of his biographer is perhaps discreet, but there must have been few who could cast a stone at him, nor can we assume that all condemned were innocent.

When the end came, it found him deprived of the society of his daughter and son-in-law[7], but watched over by his beloved wife[8] and by a circle of friends, not to speak of the marked interest taken in his illness by strangers outside his intimacy, and even by the gossip of idlers all over the city, nor was the news of his death received lightly or soon forgotten[9]. That among such people a charge of slow poisoning by order of the emperor should arise and win credit is what we might expect; nor, unless Domitian is much misjudged, can we suppose the charge incredible; but we have the candid admission of Tacitus that no evidence existed beyond the fact that he had taken extraordinary pains to keep himself informed of the progress of the

[1] See the account of the fear entertained of the proconsul of Africa in A.D. 70 (H. 4. 48-50).

[2] c. 42, 1.

[3] An instance is given under Tiberius (A. 6. 40, 3).

[4] c. 42, 3.

[5] See c. 44, 4, and note.

[6] It would appear that up to the time of Agricola's death, such trials and condemnations had been occasional, not continuous, 'per intervalla et spiramenta temporum' (c. 44, 5). Dean Merivale notes (vii. 179) that a similar inference can be drawn from Pliny, who says (Pan. 95), 'cursu quodam provectus ab illo insidiosissimo principe antequam profiteretur odium bonorum, postquam professus est, substiti'; the year A.D. 93 (in which Pliny was praetor) being thus marked by him as a turning point. The chief time of terror before Agricola's death must have been in A.D. 89, after the rebellion of Antonius Saturninus (see below, p. 58). We do not know whether any innocent persons then suffered, nor whether the trials were before Domitian himself, or the senate: but it has been pointed out that Agricola must have taken part as pontiff (cp. c. 7, 9) in the trial of the Vestal Cornelia in A.D. 91 (Pl. Ep. 4. 11, 6). Pliny, without affirming her innocence, inclines to believe it (§ 8), but Juvenal (4, 9) assumes her guilt.

[7] c. 45, 4. [8] c. 45, 6. [9] c. 43, 1.

dying man's disease, and to get the earliest news of his death [1], news which we are told that he received with becoming expressions of regret, and of pleasure at what he affected to regard as the compliment of being made a sharer with his relations in his will [2].

Whether, notwithstanding Agricola's unambitious temperament, the removal of a man of his mark really gave Domitian a greater sense of security, we cannot say; it is at any rate from the date of his death that the great terror set in, and the feud between the emperor and the aristocracy ran its course of bloodshed. The elevation of the Flavian house had no doubt been always an eyesore to the nobility [3]; but Vespasian and Titus had unassuming manners, and were surrounded with military glory, and the former had, like Augustus, brought order out of civil war and chaos. The third Flavian Caesar had been reserved and imperious from his outset [4], and soon shocked the civic sense by permitting, or even requiring, the use of such titles as 'dominus' and 'deus [5],' The severity of his censorship suited ill with his own flagrant debauchery [6]: above all, the qualities of the soldier and general were wanting in him. His indolent luxury in camp [7] recalled the contrast of Vespasian's hardihood [8]; his success on the Rhine, if substantial, was not showy [9]; his wars on the Danube had been marked by such a series of disasters as had befallen no previous emperor [10]. It was to be expected that conspiracies would break out as one after another cause of discontent arose. One such appears to

[1] c. 43, 2–3.

[2] c. 43, 4.

[3] Previous emperors had at least been chosen from their ranks. After the failure of the Julian and Claudian houses, the first person set up against Nero had been a Calpurnius Piso; another of that family had been the designated successor of Galba, who was himself of the highest lineage. The ancestors of Otho had at least been noble for two generations, and among the new made patricians of Claudius (Suet. Oth. 1); even Vitellius was 'censoris ac ter consulis filius' (H. 1. 9, 2). From all these it was a great descent to the son of a Sabine taxfarmer and money-lender (Suet. Vesp. 1).

[4] 'Ab iuventa minime civilis animi' (Suet. 12).

[5] With the exception of Gaius, previous emperors, especially Augustus (Suet. Aug. 53) and Tiberius (A. 2. 87, 2), had repudiated such titles. Domitian, perhaps from about A.D. 85 (Eus. Chron.), allowed himself to be acclaimed under them in the theatre, and prefaced a document issued in the name of his procurators with 'dominus et deus noster hoc fieri voluit' (Suet. 13). The titles became constant and are used repeatedly by court poets, as Martial and Statius: 'optumi principis et domini' is found on an inscription (C. I. L. x. 444): cp. Juv. 4, 96; and the contrast in Plin. Pan. 2, and passages quoted by Mayor on Juv. 4, 71.

[6] Suet. 22.

[7] Dio calls him τὸ σῶμα ἄπονος καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἄτολμος (67. 6, 4). He went usually in a litter, even in his campaigns (Suet. 19).

[8] Cf. the description of him in H. 2. 5, 1, 'veste habituque vix a gregario milite discrepans.'

[9] See above, p. 54.

[10] See c. 41, 2 and note.

have been discovered in A.D. 83 [1], another in A.D. 87 [2], and a formidable crisis arose at the end of 88 [3], when, after the great Dacian defeats [4], and in a time of strained relations with Parthia [5], Antonius Saturninus, the legatus in Upper Germany, formed a design of leading his legions, to be swelled by Chattan hordes, to bring about a revolution [6]. The revolt was nipped in the bud by L. Appius Norbanus, who is said to have burnt on the spot a mass of compromising papers [7]; but means were doubtless found of incriminating numbers of the aristocracy at Rome. We can readily understand that, as the conspiracies of Seianus, Camillus Scribonianus [8], and Gaius Piso [9] had given occasion under Tiberius, Claudius, and Nero to outbreaks of terrorism far outlasting the time, and exceeding the reasonable limit of retribution, the same should now have been the case; and this cause for the increased severities is expressly assigned by writers [10]; but, though many appear to have been then condemned [11], the great outbreak of Domitian was delayed by some unknown circumstances [12] till four years later, when he returned from the last of his campaigns [13], and gave himself up, during the three remaining years of his rule, to the full exaction of his revenge.

The first and probably most startling blow was dealt when, as Pliny tells us [14], seven of his most intimate friends were struck down at once; Helvidius, Rusticus, and Senecio being put to death; Mauricus, Gratilla, Arria, and Fannia driven into exile. We are rhetorically told that other blows followed so rapidly that men could no longer count the intervals, and the stream of blood seemed continuous [15]. Closely

[1] In this year 'plurimos senatorum Domitianus in exilium mittit' (Eus. Chron.).

[2] In this year the Arval Acts record a sacrifice on Sept. 22, 'ob detecta scelera nefariorum' (C. I. L. vi. 2065).

[3] Some have placed this rising in 87, and Imhof, whom Merivale (vii. 112) follows, places it as late as 93, but Gsell gives good reasons for dating it as above.

[4] Those of A.D. 85–86: see c. 41, 2, and note.

[5] 'Mota prope Parthorum arma falsi Neronis ludibrio' (H. 1. 2, 3).

[6] Suet. 6; Dio, 67. 11.

[7] Dio, l. l.

[8] See A. ii. Introd. pp. 11, 40.

[9] See A. 15. 48, foll.

[10] 'Aliquanto post civilis belli victoriam saevior,' Suet. 10: ἀφορμῆς ἐντεῦθεν εὐπορήσας, ἐπὶ τοὺς φόνους . . . ὁρμήσας, Dio, 67. 11, 4.

[11] In the year Oct. 1, 88–Sept. 30, 89 'Domitianus plurimos nobilium in exilium mittit, et occidit' (Eus. Chron.); in the next year is the entry, 'mathematicos et philosophos Roma urbe pellit' (see note on c. 2, 2).

[12] Perhaps his money difficulties, on which writers lay much stress as a motive, did not till then reach their head.

[13] It is possible that, during his eight months' absence in the Suebo-Sarmatic war (see on c. 41, 2), some conspiracy of which we have no record may have been on foot. We have hardly any Arval records of Domitian after A.D. 90.

[14] Ep. 3. 11, 3

[15] c. 44, 5.

connected, no doubt, with the attack on the aristocracy was the stringent expulsion of the philosophers [1], in whom more than one emperor had seen an element of danger [2]. Extremists, as the elder Helvidius, Hostilius, and Demetrius, had even insulted Vespasian; few had observed the prudence which Martial [3] commends in Decianus. As the spiritual directors of great houses, they were a fashion of the time [4], and those who were on the watch would note them as instigators, if not of actual treason, at least of arrogant and offensive language, and would warn rulers against 'the sect that made men sedition-mongers and busybodies [5].' No less obnoxious in another way were the charlatan crew of astrologers, who, by casting horoscopes and predicting the fall of princes, led men on to try to play the rôle of fulfillers of prophecy [6]. Circumstances most imperfectly known to us led to an attack at the same time on classes so remote from these and from the Roman nobles as the Jews and Christians [7]. They form no part of the picture drawn by Tacitus, and need not here be entered into.

Of all the horrors of these three years the details are almost wholly wanting to us, and the darkness is only lit up by flashes of rhetoric, in which knowledge of the facts is taken for granted. We are told of the happily opportune death by which Agricola was spared the sight of 'a senate encircled by soldiers, the murder of so many consulars, the banishment of numbers of noble ladies all at once [8], when 'as our ancestors saw the extreme of liberty, we saw that of servitude, robbed

[1] This has been dated in the year Oct. 1, 94-95, 'Domitianus rursum (see above, p. 58, n. 11) philosophos et mathematicos Romae per edictum extrusit' (Eus. Chron.), but should be placed earlier (see on c. 2, 2). Among those expelled was Epictetus, also Pliny's friend Artemidorus (Pl. Ep. 3. 11, 1).

[2] For the action of Vespasian see Dio, 66. 13. It is doubtful whether any general measure can be ascribed to Nero (see A. ii. Introd. p. 85, n. 3), but several individuals suffered under him, as did some under earlier emperors.

[3] 1, 8.

[4] See A. ii, Introd. p. 83, foll.

[5] Such was the representation made by Tigellinus to Nero (A. 14. 57, 5).

[6] To consult astrologers, especially concerning the imperial house, was a capital offence (see A. 3. 22, 2, and note), and measures were often taken against them; but many emperors (see on A. 2. 27, 2), and among them Domitian himself (Dio, 67. 15, 6), were eager to possess the knowledge which they denied to others; so Tacitus (H. 1. 22, 1) speaks of the class as one 'quod in civitate nostra et vetabitur semper et retinebitur.'

[7] By this time there were some Christians in high places. The charge of atheism brought against Domitian's cousin Flavius Clemens, and his wife Domitilla (Dio, 67. 14), is thought to point this way, and the name of another victim, Acilius Glabrio, is that of a family known in several Christian inscriptions (see De Rossi, cited by Gsell, p. 294). An ancient cemetery bears by Christian tradition the name of Domitilla (Id. p. 300).

[8] c. 45, 1.

by espionage of the intercourse of speech and hearing [1].' The tools of tyranny, hitherto in disgrace or obscurity or 'distinguished by but a single success [2],' now came out in full daylight and carried all before them, the formidable orators as Aquillius Regulus [3], Metius Carus [4], Fabricius Veiento [5], the blind and pitiless Catullus Messalinus [6], and the more private informers as Baebius Massa [7], and Latinus [8], Publicius Certus [9], and Pompeius, 'who could slit throats by a whisper [10].' Whatever had been Domitian's earlier practice, the senate is at this date made the instrument of his cruelty. 'We senators with our own hands dragged Helvidius to prison, we parted the brothers Mauricus and Rusticus, and were sprinkled with the innocent blood of Senecio.' The indignity which their fathers had borne was aggravated: 'Nero commanded outrages, but refrained from beholding them; our great misery under Domitian was that we had to see and be seen, with our every sigh noted down in evidence, while that fierce look, and the flush which made him proof against all token of shame was enough to mark out each palefaced trembler [11].' In his larger work he would have related at length the events of the time when 'every part of the sea had its exiles, and the very rocks were stained with blood, and a still fiercer storm raged at Rome; nobility, wealth, the acceptance or avoidance of high office, were all grounds of charge, and high character the surest cause of ruin. Nor were the rewards of informers less detestable than their crimes, when some took for their spoil priesthoods and consulships, others procuratorships and confidential influence, and made havoc everywhere with hate and terror; slaves were tampered with against their masters, freedmen against their patrons, and those who had no enemy were overthrown by friends.' The only bright side of the picture is the examples of heroism, the constancy of women who shared the exile of their husbands or children, the loyalty of slaves even under torture, the courageous and noble deaths of victims [12].

To test the truth of this lurid picture is now impossible for us; our historical sources are scanty and fragmentary [13], the panegyrics

[1] c. 2, 3.
[2] c. 45, 1.
[3] He was already infamous under Nero (H. 4. 42, 1), and lived on under Nerva.
[4] c. 45, 1.
[5] He had been banished under Nero (A. 14. 50, 1), and after Domitian's death remained a friend of Nerva (Plin. Ep. 4. 22, 4).
[6] Plin. l. l., Juv. 4, 113.
[7] Cp. H. 4. 50, 3.
[8] Juv. 1, 36.
[9] Plin. Ep. 9, 13.
[10] Juv. 4, 110.
[11] c. 45, 1–2.
[12] H. 1. 2–3.
[13] The epitome of Dio by Xiphilinus,

of court poets worthless [1]. We know too well the rhetoric of a reaction to take Tacitus and Pliny [2] strictly, but the means of knowing what measure of deduction is necessary are irrecoverably lost to us.

A few words should be added by way of a critical estimate of the character of Agricola as here described to us [3]. To glorify one, the keynote of whose life was moderation, is a far more delicate task for a biographer than to be the panegyrist of a Thrasea or a Helvidius; but we may well believe that the current martyrologies of the time [4] required their counterpoise, and may be glad that Tacitus did not shrink from the duty which his own political attitude, no less than his filial 'pietas' imposed on him. We are to try to comprehend the moral standpoint of those who asked themselves in trying times how the government of the empire was to be carried on, who had learnt from A. D. 69 to dread revolution even more than tyranny, and believed that they could do best for their country by accepting positions of responsibility and devoting their best energies to public work, by observing justice, integrity, and humanity in their own dealings with subordinates and subjects, and at home by neither putting themselves forward to further, nor courting their own destruction by a show of opposing what they were really powerless to prevent [5]. Returning from an apparently great success in the most stirring military command in the empire, in the very prime of life [6], and with many years of energy left in him, Agricola might well have had hopes of further distinction, but only at the price of base compliance, and must have seen that if he was to remain an honourable man his public career was closed. This

no doubt always meagre, is here especially fragmentary and mutilated: the Life of Suetonius, though on a much more scanty scale than those of the first six Caesars, is on the whole the best source that we have, and is not without recognition of his better side (c. 3; 8; 9).

[1] After Domitian's death, even Martial changed his tone, and wrote 'Flavia gens, quantum tibi tertius abstulit heres! paene fuit tanti non habuisse duos' (Schol. Juv. 4, 38).

[2] A similar description to that of Tacitus, and equally charged with rhetoric, is to be gathered from Pliny's Panegyric to Trajan and from many of his letters.

[3] For a description of the character as drawn by Tacitus, see above, p. 11, foll.

[4] As soon as writing was free, there were probably many imitators of Rusticus and Senecio. The 'exitus illustrium virorum' of Titinius Capito, and 'exitus occisorum aut relegatorum sub Nerone' of Fannius (Pl. Ep. 8. 12, 4; 5. 5, 3), appear to be of rather later date.

[5] Such a temperament under Tiberius is described in L. Piso the 'praefectus urbi' (A. 6. 10, 3), 'nullius servilis sententiae sponte auctor, et quotiens necessitas ingrueret, sapienter moderans.' Juvenal's contrast (4, 90) to the citizen 'qui libera posset verba animi proferre et vitam impendere vero,' is not such a man as Agricola, but the far lower character of Vibius Crispus.

[6] At his return from Britain, Agricola seems to have been hardly forty-five (see on c. 44, 1), somewhat younger than Wellington at the date of Waterloo.

position he at once accepted, and his self-effacement, if less heroic than resistance, had its moral dignity. It should be remembered also that he had given hostages to fortune, and if he himself might sometimes feel his lot intolerable, the welfare of his wife and daughter was a counsel of perseverance. In these years of his life only two acts are mentioned, and these involve no baseness. To take the proconsulate of Asia or Africa against the emperor's will was impossible [1], and the mode chosen of escaping from the difficulty was discreditable only to Domitian. Again, to have forborne to make the emperor co-heir in his will would have been to himself a safe piece of posthumous bravado, to be requited only on those whom he most dearly loved.

The question of the votes which he may have had from time to time to give raises more difficulties. A Roman senator could neither resign his position, nor (except in old age or illness) safely absent himself [2], nor let the motion pass in silence, but must be in his place and distinctly answer the question put to him. Of any particular question thus put to Agricola we know nothing [3], save that he died before the worst time; but we know that even such men as the gentle Nerva must have owed their safety to acquiescence in those worst days which he was spared from seeing, and similar examples abound in history. Many an upright member of the Privy Council or of either House of Parliament under such a monarch as Henry VIII, many others in all times and countries have had such terrible alternatives placed before them. There are cases, as all feel, in which death should come before dishonour; but we cannot draw a hard and fast line, and history has taught us often to palliate, if not to justify.

Even his last years may thus be shown to have an interest for us, and even in these those who beheld his presence could read his goodness, and even, if they would, his greatness [4]. But it was necessarily on his more public career that his fame mainly rested, and it is on his qualities shown in that exalted station, his combination of energy, sense of duty, tact, and modesty, no less than on his actual achievements, that Tacitus would ground his claim to a share in that immortality which he would fain believe, according to the tenets of philosophers, to be granted to the great and good [5], and would bid

[1] See above, p. 56.

[2] See the charge brought against Thrasea (A. 16. 22, 1).

[3] It has been shown above (p. 56, n. 6) that the government may probably not have been very bad before 93, and that we are very much in the dark as to the persons condemned and their real guilt or innocence.

[4] c. 44, 2.

[5] c. 46, 1.

men raise to him the imperishable monument of lives and characters conformed to his example [1].

Even those who think his praise overstrained may yet be glad that the picture of such a character, rare at all times, and apt to be lightly valued, has been drawn by loving hands, and not left to be caricatured, after the crisis was over, by the cheap invective of reactionary rhetoricians, and that it has thus lasted down far beyond any such future as the writer may have dared to hope for [2].

[1] c. 46, 3.

[2] 'Posteritati narratus et traditus superstes erit' (c. 46, 4).

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS

20. Second year: surrender of several states, and lines drawn round them.
21. Measures taken to promote the adoption of Roman customs.
22. Third year: the estuary Tanaus; his skill in fortifying and securing positions.
23. Fourth year: the isthmus between the Clota and Bodotria occupied.
24. Fifth year: an expedition by sea; the coast facing Ireland occupied, with a view to invasion.
25. Sixth year: expedition beyond the Bodotria; the army supported by the fleet; apprehension of an attack on his forts.
26. Attack on the camp of the Ninth legion repulsed.
27. Eagerness to invade Caledonia; gatherings of the Britons.
28. Attempt of Usipi to escape; their perilous voyage.
29. Seventh year: death of Agricola's infant son: march to the 'Mons Graupius,' where the enemy had gathered in force.
30–32. Speech of Calgacus, a British chief.
33–34. Speech of Agricola.
35–37. Great battle and victory of the Romans.
38. Dispersion of the enemy: Agricola marches through the territory of the 'Boresti' to winter-quarters; the fleet, after circumnavigating the north coast, occupies the 'portus Trucculensis.'

C. 39–46. Recall and last years of Agricola.

39. Jealousy of Domitian.
40. Honours granted to Agricola: his recall and return to Rome, and unostentatious life.
41. Disasters in other provinces; Agricola's name made perilously prominent; charges against him dismissed.
42. He is forced to solicit leave to decline a proconsulate: his character a type of the good citizen in evil times.
43. His last illness; only his wife present; suspicions of poison; conduct of Domitian.
44. Death of Agricola, Aug. 23, A.D. 93: his personal appearance: completeness of his life.
45. His death happily spared him from witnessing the horrors that followed it: Tacitus regrets his own absence.
46. Epilogue: hope of immortality. Imitation of character the best memorial to the great.

ABBREVIATIONS USED.

Manuscripts (on these see Introd. pp. 1, foll.).

Γ Vaticanus 3429.
$Γ^2$ Interlinear corrections in same } both by first hand.
$Γ^m$ Marginal corrections in same } both by first hand.
Δ Vaticanus 4498.

Editions and other works (on some of which see Preface).

A. G. Andresen, 1880.
Acid. V. Acidalius (notae).
C. B. Church and Brodribb. Edition and translation.
Doed. L. Doederlein, 1846.
Dr. A. Draeger, 1891.
— S. u. S. Draeger, Syntax und Stil des Tacitus, 1882.
K. F. Kritz, 1874.
L. Lipsius.
Mur. M. A. Muretus (notae).
Nipp. Nipperdey (Rheinisches Museum, xviii, xix).
P. Franciscus Puteolanus (see Introd. p. 3).
R. Beatus Rhenanus, 1519, 1533, 1544.
Ritt. F. Ritter, 1864.
Urs. Fulvio Orsini (see Introd. p. 4).
W. F. Wex (see Introd. p. 5).

CORNELII TACITI

DE VITA ET MORIBUS IULII AGRICOLAE

LIBER

1. CLARORUM virorum facta moresque posteris tradere,
antiquitus usitatum, ne nostris quidem temporibus quamquam
incuriosa suorum aetas omisit, quotiens magna aliqua ac no-
bilis virtus vicit ac supergressa est vitium parvis magnisque
2 civitatibus commune, ignorantiam recti et invidiam. sed apud
priores ut agere digna memoratu pronum magisque in aperto

The readings without notation are those of both MSS.
TITLE.—CORNELLI (CAI CORNELI Δ) TACITI DE VITA ET MORIBUS IULII AGRICOLAE (PROHEMIUM Δ): IULII AGRICOLAE VITA PER CORNELIUM TACITUM EIUS GENERUM CASTISSIME COMPOSITA P.

2. **antiquitus usitatum,** 'a custom of the past': the use of a past participle or adjective, with the force of a relative clause, in apposition to the object (as here and 'gratum' in H. 2. 92, 4) or subject (as 'usurpatum' in G. 31, 1), is one of many concise participial constructions frequent in Tacitus. Some Roman biographers are mentioned in these chapters, and a long list is given by Ruperti.

quamquam, very rarely used in classical prose, but often by Tacitus, with an adj. or part. without a final verb: cp. c. 16, 2; 22, 1; 33, 1; 39, 1; 44, 3, &c.

3. **incuriosa;** so 'recentium incuriosi' in A. 2. 88, 4, where the sentiment is very similar (see note); and on the analogy of which 'suorum' should here be neuter.

aetas, personified, as is often *γενεά*.

4. **vicit ac supergressa est,** 'has overcome and surmounted'; the latter verb is post-Augustan. On the frequent accumulation of virtual synonyms in this work see Introd. p. 19.

5. **ignorantiam recti et invidiam,** 'blindness to rectitude and jealousy.' A. points out that by the use of the singular 'vitium' it is implied that there are two aspects of one vice. The common sort cannot understand an exalted character, and hate its eminence. The sentence seems to contain a reminiscence of Nep. Chab. 5. 'Ignorantia' (cp. c. 32, 2; G. 40, 5) is very rare in classical prose.

6. **memoratu,** a rare supine; so with 'digna' in H. 2. 24, 2; also found in H. 2. 73, 1; A. 4. 32, 1; Liv. 4. 43, 1. Cp. 'digna cognitu,' A. 6. 7, 6.

pronum magisque in aperto, metaphors again virtually synonymous, and taken from a favourable course, in opposition to what is 'arduum' and

erat, ita celeberrimus quisque ingenio ad prodendam virtutis memoriam sine gratia aut ambitione bonae tantum conscientiae pretio ducebatur. ac plerique suam ipsi vitam narrare 3
fiduciam potius morum quam adrogantiam arbitrati sunt, nec id Rutilio et Scauro citra fidem aut obtrectationi fuit: adeo virtutes isdem temporibus optime aestimantur, quibus facillime gignuntur. at nunc narraturo mihi vitam defuncti hominis 4

6. optimae: text P.

'impeditum' ('uphill and full of obstacles'). Cp. c. 33, 4; H. 3. 56, 4, &c.

1. **celeberrimus** = 'clarissimus,' chiefly a poetical and post Augustan sense; so of authors in H. 3. 51, 1; A. 14. 19. The sense is as if he had written 'ita scribere pronum erat, nam celeberrimus quisque,' &c.

2. **sine gratia aut ambitione**, 'without partiality or self seeking' (C. and B.). An author might falsify history to please friends or to gain some object. Cp. the contrast in A. 6. 46, 4, 'non perinde curae gratia praesentium quam in posteros ambitio.'

bonae . . . conscientiae, 'consciousness of well-doing,' i.e. of having fulfilled the historian's duty 'ne virtutes sileantur' (A. 3. 65, 1). Such expressions as 'bona' or 'mala conscientia,' in which the adjective has the force of an objective genitive, approach nearly to the modern 'conscience': cp. Sen. Ep. 43, 5, 'bona conscientia turbam advocat, mala etiam in solitudine anxia atque sollicita est.' For 'pretium' in the (originally poetical) sense of 'praemium,' cp. c. 12, 6; G. 24, 2; H. 1. 11, 4, &c.

3. **ac plerique**, 'nay, many': cp. c. 36, 2; H. 2. 62, 4; 3. 58, 4, &c. In the following words two sentences are combined, (1) that they wrote their own lives, (2) that they did not consider it arrogance, but honourable self-confidence to do so. They felt that they had a just claim on the appreciation of their hearers.

5. **Rutilio**, P. Rutilius Rufus, cos. 649, B. C. 105, an orator and a Stoic, highly praised by Cicero (de Or. 1. 53, 229, &c.) and Velleius (2. 13, 2). He was condemned (as it is said unjustly) for extortion in Asia about B. C. 93 or 92, and lived in exile at Zmyrna (A. 4. 43, 7). His fortitude in adversity is often extolled by Seneca.

Scauro, M. Aemilius Scaurus, cos. 639, 647, B. C. 115, 107, censor 645, B. C. 109, and many years 'princeps senatus,' a great leader of the aristocracy, but an enemy of Rutilius (see A. 3. 66, 2, and note), and described in very opposite terms by Cicero and by Sallust (Jug. 15, 4). His autobiography is mentioned by Cic. (Brut. 29, 112) as valuable, but no longer read. It is however cited in Val. Max. 4. 4, 11, and mentioned in Plin. N. H. 33. 1, 6, 21.

citra fidem, 'beneath credibility.' This prep. is used in a sense nearly equivalent to 'sine' by Quint., Plin. ma , &c., and by Tacitus in his minor works only (cp. c. 35, 2; G. 16, 3, and Gudeman on Dial. 27, 10).

aut obtrectationi, 'or matter of censure,' as contrary to good taste.

adeo, &c., 'so truly does the age most fruitful in excellence also best appreciate it': cp. the sentiment in H. 3. 51, 3, and 'simplex admirandis virtutibus antiquitas' (Sen. Cons. ad Helv. 19, 5).

7. **nunc**, 'in these times': cp. Dial. 29, 1; 35, 1. Peter rightly notes that it is not taken here in the narrow sense of c. 3, 1, but of the present age generally as opposed to the past, and especially of Domitian's time.

narraturo, &c., 'even when about to relate the life of a dead man' (one removed from the envy and jealousy of the present: cp. A. 4. 35, 2), in contrast to the examples of men who wrote their own lines, and published them in their lifetime.

venia opus fuit, quam non petissem incusaturus. tam saeva et infesta virtutibus tempora. Senecioni

2. Legimus, cum Aruleno Rustico Paetus Thrasea, Herennio

1. fuerit Roth. ni cursaturus (incursaturus, incusaturus) P. and old edd., incusaturus tam s. e. i. v. tempora. vulg., Halm., incusaturus . tam s. e. i. v. t. exegimus (al. egimus, peregimus) Gantrelle (with fuit for fuisse below), text W. A. 3. Petus: text P.

1. **venia opus fuit**, 'I needed to ask indulgence,' lenient criticism, for a work contemplated in a time of repression and carried out in one of literary enfeeblement (c. 3, 1–2), as also for the choice of an unpopular subject (see next note). Peter seems rightly to defend both the mood and the tense; the indicative being used like 'oportuit,' 'debui,' &c., to express what is or would be in a specified case obligatory (cp. Madvig, § 348, e), and the past tense, as also 'petissem' instead of 'peterem' below, because the conditions of the whole time, and not only of the present moment, are alluded to. 'Fuerit,' though an easy emendation (merely supposing the loss of a stroke in the MSS.), seems not required.

quam non petissem incusaturus. The reading and stopping here have been often questioned, and a great deal has been written on the words, especially by Wex, Gantrelle, and Maxa. 'Incusaturus' must answer to 'narraturo,' and must mean 'si incusaturus fuissem'; and the stopping 'incusaturus . . . tempora' cannot well stand in the face of the fact that an invective on those times follows in the very next words and all through the next chapter, and is elsewhere so prominent. With the stopping here given, the natural object of 'incusaturus' is that of 'narraturo' ('vitam defuncti hominis'). The sentiment might be general, for in most cases 'obtrectatio et livor pronis auribus accipiuntur' (H. 1. 1, 3); but there were special reasons why an invective on Agricola would have been welcome to the courtiers of Domitian at the time of his death, and, on opposite grounds (see Introd. p. 11), to the reactionists of the present. The emendations with 'ni' do not give a satisfactory meaning in connexion with the immediate context; those of Gantrelle and others are too violent.

tam saeva, &c., sc. 'fuerunt': for 'tam' so used at the beginning of a sentence, with the force of 'adeo,' Gantrelle compares Juv. 13, 75 ('tam facile et pronum est'), and Plin. Ep. 5. 20. 4 ('tam longas . . . periodos contorquent'). 'Ob virtutes certissimum exitium,' is said elsewhere (H. 1. 2, 7) of Domitian's time.

3. **Legimus**, i. e. 'it stands on written record' (probably present) that to praise a dead man has been a capital offence. The record would no doubt be found in the 'acta senatus,' possibly also in the 'acta populi,' but in these Domitian sometimes suppressed mention of the trials (Dio, 67. 11, 3). It may seem strange that Tacitus should refer to a written authority for events so notorious and recent, hence the alterations to 'exegimus,' 'egimus,' &c. (with 'tempora'); but it is not the fact that these men were executed, but the definite and formal charge against them that he thus desires to place beyond question.

Aruleno Rustico, mentioned as trib. pleb. at the time of Thrasea's trial, and as offering to exercise his 'intercessio' (A. 16. 26, 6), also as praetor in 822, A.D. 69 (H. 3. 80, 3). He was put to death probably in 846, A.D. 93, for having in his biography called Thrasea 'sanctus' (ἱερός, Dio, 67. 13, 2): cp. Suet. Dom. 10 (who erroneously makes him also the biographer of Helvidius ('quod . . . laudes edidisset, appellassetque eos sanctissimos viros'). On the dative used with the force of an abl. after passive verbs, see c. 10, 1; Dr. S. u. S. § 51; Roby, 1146.

Paetus Thrasea, the great leader of the Stoic Opposition under Nero, put to death by him in 819, A.D. 66. On his character and end see A. 16. 21–35; Annals, vol. ii. Introd. pp. 80, foll.

Herennio Senecioni, a friend of Plin. mi., associated with him in accusing Baebius Massa (Plin. Ep. 7. 33, 4), after-

~~Senecioni~~ Priscus Helvidius laudati essent, capitale fuisse, neque in ipsos modo auctores, sed in libros quoque eorum saevitum, delegato triumviris ministerio ut monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum in comitio ac foro urerentur. scilicet illo 2
igne vocem populi Romani et libertatem senatus et conscientiam generis humani aboleri arbitrabantur, expulsis insuper sapientiae professoribus atque omni bona arte in exilium acta,

1. senetioni: text R. 5. vocem om. Δ.

wards accused by Metius Carus 'quod de vita Helvidii libros composuisset' (Id. 7. 19, 5), at the same date as Rusticus. The book was preserved by Fannia, wife of Helvidius (Plin. l. l.)

1. **Priscus Helvidius**, son-in-law of Thrasea, banished when the latter was put to death (A. 16. 33, 3), restored and made praetor in 823, A. D. 70 (H. 4. 4, 5; 53, 3), and prominent at that time in the senate, banished again and afterwards put to death by Vespasian (Suet. Vesp. 15). On his son see c. 45, 1.

2. **neque . . . modo . . . sed . . . quoque**; so 'non solum . . . sed quoque' in Livy 9. 3, 5; 36. 35, 13. Usually, when a word intervenes between 'non' (or 'nec') and 'modo,' the latter is joined by 'et' or 'que' to another word: see Gudeman on Dial. 2, 6.

3. **saevitum**, sc. 'esse.' This fact would also be recorded in the 'acta.'

triumviris, sc. 'capitalibus.' On these officers see Mommsen, Staatsrecht, ii. 594, foll. and note on A. 5. 9, 3. The duty would appear from A. 4. 35, 5, to have belonged to the aediles, and its delegation to lower officers who superintended executions seems a mark of insult. The actual functionaries who burnt such books appear from Liv. 40. 29, 14, to be the 'victimarii.'

monumenta . . . ingeniorum; so used of writings in A. 4. 61, 1; 15. 41, 2.

4. **in comitio ac foro.** The 'comitium' was the part of the space of the Forum adjoining the 'Curia' and 'Rostra' (see Middleton, i. 237, 242, &c.), and was the ancient place of trials and punishments (Liv. 9. 9, 2, &c.; Plin. Ep. 4. 11, 10), and for such condemnation of books (Liv. 40. 29, 14). The addition 'ac foro' is probably only one of the combinations of synonyms so common in this treatise (see Introd. p. 19): cp. 'ficus arbor in foro ipso ac comitio Romae nata' (Plin. N. H. 15. 18, 20, 77). That the two words respectively imply 'ignominiose ac publice' (Wex) seems too fine a distinction (see Wölfflin, Phil. xxvi. 137); but such public ignominy is conveyed by the expression as a whole.

5. **conscientiam**, here 'the sympathy of the human race,' their consciousness of the honour due to such men. The same idea is expressed (evidently with tacit allusion to Domitian) in A. 4. 35, 6, by 'praesenti potentia credunt extingui posse etiam sequentis aevi memoriam'; where, however, he is rather referring to the preservation of such books in spite of these precautions.

6. **arbitrabantur.** The subject (Domitian and his advisers) is supplied from the sense.

expulsis, aoristic abl. abs., adding another fact: cp. c. 14, 3, 4; 22, 1; 23, 2, &c. An expulsion of philosophers by Domitian, attested by several writers, is connected by Suet. (Dom. 10) and Dio (67. 13, 3) with the execution of Arulenus Rusticus (see above), and is stated by Pliny (Ep. 3. 11. 2) to have taken place in his praetorship, which is placed in A. D. 93. The statement in Eus. Chron. (see Introd. pp. 58, n. 11; 59, n. 1) that Domitian twice thus acted, perhaps arises from confusion with a previous action by Vespasian.

7. **atque**, &c., a repetition in substance of the previous sentence: cp. Wölfflin in Phil. xxvi. 139, who notes that Tacitus, following Sall. (Cat. 10, 4; Jug. 1, 3), uses 'bonae artes' of high moral qualities, 'malae' of their opposites (H. 1. 10, 3), and 'artes civiles,' 'honestae,' 'ingenuae,' 'liberales' of in-

3 ne quid usquam honestum occurreret. dedimus profecto grande patientiae documentum; et sicut vetus aetas vidit quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute, adempto per inquisitiones etiam loquendi audiendique commercio. memoriam quoque ipsam cum voce perdidissemus, si tam in nostra potestate esset oblivisci quam tacere.

3. Nunc demum redit animus; set quamquam primo statim beatissimi saeculi ortu Nerva Caesar res olim dissociabiles miscuerit, principatum ac libertatem, augeatque quotidie

1. occurrē Δ. grande om. Δ 2. ut sicut P. 7. set or sed editio Bipontina, Halm, A. 8. dissotiabiles Γ, dissolubiles Δ: dissociatas Bährens, vix sociabiles Cornelissen.

tellectual accomplishments; but 'bonae' seems also to have this meaning (e. g. A. 6. 46, 2); and the higher teaching of philosophy is regarded as a moral influence: cp. Plin. Pan. 47, 'cum . . . inimicas vitiis artes . . . relegaret.'

1. **dedimus . . . documentum**; so 'dare experimentum' (A. 13. 24, 1, &c.), 'exemplum' (16. 32, 3): 'patientia,' 'submissiveness': cp. c. 15, 1; 16, 2; A. 3. 65, 4, &c.

2. **ultimum**, 'the extreme.' The times referred to are only ancient by comparison; the reference being to the lawlessness of the later Republic.

3. **nos**, sc. 'vidimus.' Sometimes Tacitus supplies a positive from a negative verb, as 'quibat' from 'nequibat' in A. 12. 64, 6; 'potest' from 'non potest' in A. 13. 56, 3.

4. **inquisitiones**, 'espionage': cp. c. 43, 2. The description of the terror produced by such a system under Tiberius in A. 4. 69, 6, is probably coloured by reminiscences of this time.

loquendi . . . commercio, 'interchange of ideas.' It was a crime not only to have spoken, but to have listened.

7. **redit** = 'redire incipit.'

et. The correction to 'set' is here extremely easy, but we have a very parallel use of 'et quamquam,' with the force of 'quamquam autem,' and with 'tamen' (as here) marking the apodosis, in c. 36, 3. Also 'et' alone has often the force of 'and yet,' as in c. 9, 3, &c. The subjunctive of facts with 'quamquam,' very rare in prose before Livy, is very common in Tacitus: cp. c. 6, 2; 13, 2; A. i. Introd. p. 58, § 51.

primo statim, coupled for emphasis: cp. H. 1. 31, 4; 2. 69, 3, &c.

8. **saeculi ortu.** The new period (cp. c. 43, 5) is imagined as rising like a star.

Nerva Caesar. The title 'divus' is given to him in H. 1. 1, 5; but the inference drawn from its absence here (see Introd. p. 5) seems to be refuted by c. 44, 5; for Trajan, though from the time of his adoption (Oct. 27, A.D. 97) 'particeps' and 'socius imperii' and 'imperator' (Plin. Pan. 9), could hardly be called 'princeps' in Nerva's life, and what is here said of him would be more appropriate to the actual 'princeps' than the associate, though in either case to be taken as the language of compliment, as he remained absent from Rome till A.D. 99.

olim, 'long since': cp. H. 1. 60, 1; A. 2. 62, 2; 6. 16, 1, &c.

dissociabiles, used elsewhere in the sense of 'separating' (Hor. Od. 1. 3, 22), or 'separable' (Claud. Ruf. 2. 238); whereas the meaning here required is that of 'incompatible' ('insociabilis,' A. 4. 12, 6; 13. 17, 2). The emendations proposed are, however, somewhat violent, as the MSS. readings seem to show that the text of the archetype was clear at least as to the beginning and end of the word. Maxa compares the force of the prefix in 'displicere' and 'dissimilis.'

9. **principatum ac libertatem**, 'monarchy and freedom.' An inscription existed in the Capitol dated on the day of Nerva's election (Sept. 18, A.D.

felicitatem temporum Nerva Traianus, nec spem modo ac votum securitas publica, sed ipsius voti fiduciam ac robur adsumpserit, natura tamen infirmitatis humanae tardiora sunt remedia quam mala; et ut corpora nostra lente augescunt, cito extinguuntur, sic ingenia studiaque oppresseris facilius quam revocaveris: subit quippe etiam ipsius inertiae dulcedo, et invisa primo desidia postremo amatur. quid? si per quinde- 2
cim annos, grande mortalis aevi spatium, multi fortuitis casibus, promptissimus quisque saevitia principis interciderunt, pauci, et, ut ita dixerim, non modo aliorum sed etiam nostri

1. imperii P. 2. securitatis res publica Mützell. 8. multis: text L. 10. pauci et uti dixerim: text R, pauci ut ita Halm.

96), 'Libertati Restitutae' (C. I. L. vi. 472, Henzen 5436, Wilmanns 64). Cp. the expression of Pliny (Ep. 9. 13, 4), 'primis diebus redditae libertatis.'

1. **felicitatem temporum**, a phrase used in H. 1. 1, 5; Plin. Ep. ad Trai. 12. 'Felicitas publica,' 'reipublicae,' 'seculi,' are also formulae on coins.

nec spem, &c., 'nor has public security only formed hopes and prayers, but has received the assurance and actual substance of what it prayed for.' 'Securitas,' frequently the object of vows (cp. Orelli, Insc. 1830, 1831), and often personified on coins, &c., is here imagined as offering vows; some such sense as 'conceperit' being supplied by zeugma from 'adsumpserit.' 'Fiduciam ac robur' might be a hendiadys, but is more probably the strengthening of a weaker by a more forcible synonym.

3. **tardiora**, 'slower to act'; so 'tarda legum auxilia' (A. 6. 11, 3).

4. **ut . . . sic**. The antithesis is in the thought rather than the expression, but is easily supplied.

6. **subit**, 'comes over us'; so absol. H. 1. 13, 5; 3. 31, 6, &c., after Vergil (Aen. 2, 560; 575, &c.). Tacitus has 'quippe' in anastrophe elsewhere only in the Annals, but there very frequently.

7. **quid? si**, &c., a rhetorical formula introducing a new and stronger argument, usually either putting a parallel case (cp. Gudeman on Dial. 20, 24), or asking what will be the consequence if something else should come to pass (cp. H. 4. 17, 4; 42, 7; A. 4. 40, 4; 11. 23, 7), but here asking what must have been the consequence of some past event. What if we have not only lost the inclination, but (by disuse, and the destruction of the fittest) even the power to write? The answer is left to be supplied. Some less well make an apodosis begin with 'pauci.'

quindecim, the whole rule of Domitian, A. D. 81–96. His policy of repression is elsewhere noticed before his last and worst period (c. 39, 3); nor does this seem inconsistent with the generally good character of his early government as described in Suet. 9.

8. **multi . . . pauci**; i. e. many have perished, and the few that remain, &c.

fortuitis, a word often used of natural in contrast to violent deaths: cp. A. 4. 8, 1; 12. 52, 3; 16. 19, 4.

9. **promptissimus**, sc. 'ingenio,' 'the most active minds' (H. 1. 51, 7), such as Rusticus and Senecio

10. **ut ita dixerim**. 'Uti dixerim' cannot be satisfactorily defended. The form here given is found in Quint. 9. 4, 61; Plin. Ep. 2. 5, 6, and is rather nearer to the manuscript text than 'ut sic dixerim,' which Wölfflin (Philol. xxvi. 139) prefers, as used not only by these writers, but elsewhere by Tacitus himself: see G. 2, 1; A. 14. 53, 4, and notes, and Gudeman on Dial. 34, 7. Both expressions are modifications in the silver age of the classical 'ut ita

rare now once more, what by was originally: does Tacitus mean. "even the few who have survived their neighbours, have outlived their former selves & are themselves no more" or (b) only a few - but there are a few - have survived the debased self of the

 Domitian-period

superstites sumus, exemptis e media vita tot annis, quibus iuvenes ad senectutem, senes prope ad ipsos exactae aetatis
3 terminos per silentium venimus. non tamen pigebit vel incondita ac rudi voce memoriam prioris servitutis ac testimo-
4 nium praesentium bonorum composuisse. hic interim liber honori Agricolae soceri mei destinatus, professione pietatis aut laudatus erit aut excusatus.

4. senectutis: text Urs, L.

dicam,' and all are used to qualify a strong expression, as here that of having outlived oneself.

nostri superstites, an expression used (also with a qualifying word) in Sen. Ep. 30, 5 ('vivere tamquam superstes sibi'). We have outlived our faculties.

1. **exemptis**, 'taken out,' as in A. 3. 18, 1 (where it is perhaps used with simple abl.): elsewhere, in more than twenty places, Tacitus uses this veib with dat.: cp. A. 1. 48, 2; 64, 4, &c.

2. **iuvenes**, &c. By old Roman law a man passed from the 'iuniores' to the 'seniores' at the age of forty-six (Gell. 10. 28, 1); at the age of sixty a senator ceased to be summoned to attend (Sen. de Brev. Vit. 20, 4). Tacitus himself had passed about from his twenty-seventh to his forty-second year under Domitian.

exactae aetatis, an expression used in the abl. qual. in H. 3. 33, 2, 'the limit of spent life.'

3. **per silentium**, used in A. 4. 53, 1, &c. (cp. G. G. Lex. p. 1096) with merely the sense of 'silens,' but here either like 'per cultum' in c. 4, 2, or perhaps with instrumental force = 'silendo,' to imply that they only saved their lives by silence: cp. the use of 'per' in c. 6, 1; 29, 1; 40, 4; 46, 3, &c.

non tamen pigebit, 'yet (in spite of the difficulties which beset me) it will not be irksome' (i. e. 'iuvabit'). In A. 1. 73, 1, a possibly distasteful subject is prefaced by 'haud pigebit referre.'

vel incondita ac rudi voce, 'even in unpolished and inartistic language,' i. e. though historical composition is well-nigh a forgotten art. Such expressions are used of the rough style of archaic writers: cp. Gudeman on Dial. 18, 4; 21, 17.

4. **memoriam**, &c., 'to have put together a record of the past slavery and testification of our present blessings.' The past tense is best taken, with A., as looking to the time of publication. He compares the similar passage in Livy's preface (§ 3), 'iuvabit tamen ... consuluisse'; also 'non paenitebit curasse' (Quint. 1. 1, 34). The passage shows that, probably soon after Nerva's accession, he had begun the Histories, not however quite in the form in which they appeared. The work is spoken of as intended to be, if not a monograph on Domitian, at least chiefly a history of his rule; and, though he could not at that early date have projected a history of Nerva, still less of Trajan, a 'testimonium' of the happy change inaugurated was to come in as an epilogue and contrast. By the time the work was published, it had grown into a complete history from Galba to Domitian, and the great subsequent era, with the career of conquest opened out by it, was relegated to a separate work, and ultimately abandoned.

5. **interim**, 'till the greater work is finished.' The duty of doing justice to Agricola's memory should not be so long postponed.

6. **professione**, &c.: cp. 'pietate ... excusatus,' H. 2. 50, 4. The context would seem to connect this with the previous apology for any want of finish in style, but probably there is also a reference to the ground taken in the treatise. Those who may not sympathize with the view given of Agricola's character will yet praise, or at least excuse his work as an act of dutiful affection. The hostile feeling is that

Ambiguity in the phrase "nostri superstites" is the man who has survived his former self - now a changed man, or is he (2) still what he once was, tho a rare case? (Fanci) the words that follow support (1) & logic & language support (1). but not quite positively: what is the former self? the self of Domitian's reign

4. Gnaeus Iulius Agricola, vetere et inlustri Foroiuliensium colonia ortus, utrumque avum procuratorem Caesarum habuit, quae equestris nobilitas est. pater illi Iulius Graecinus senatorii ordinis, studio eloquentiae sapientiaeque notus, iisque ipsis virtutibus iram Gai Caesaris meritus: namque M. Silanum

1. GNeus Γ, Ñ (with c in margin) Δ. 2. Caesaris Δ. 3. Pater Iulii, (Iuli Δ) Iulius: pater Iulius L, pater fuit Iulius Fröhlich, text Wölfflin. Grecinus Γ. 5. sillanum Γ, Sullanum Δ.

alluded to in c. 42, 5 (see Introd. p. 10), possibly also the general dislike of a picture of exalted virtue: cp. A. 4. 33, 6, also 'quasi aliena virtus exprobratio delictorum omnium sit' (Sen. de Vit. Beat. 19, 2).

1. **vetere**, &c. It is worth while to notice this example of the growth of a new aristocracy under the early empire. The family is Gallic on both sides, and in the first generation mentioned is represented by procurators of equestrian rank. The son of one and son-in-law of the other becomes a Roman senator (cp. A. 3. 55, 4) under Tiberius; and his son, born and educated in Gaul, marries a Roman lady of high family, and appears so far to profit by Nero's antipathy to the old Roman nobility as in the later years of that prince to pass through the usual 'cursus honorum' to the praetorship at the earliest legal age. Becoming also an instance of Vespasian's tendency to promote provincial citizens, he is enrolled by that prince among the patrician aristocracy (c. 9, 1), and, besides being appointed to one of the most distinguished praetorian, as after his consulship to one of the foremost consular provinces, becomes also a member of the college of pontiffs (c. 9, 7).

Foroiuliensium, Frejus, 'Octavanorum colonia, quae Pacensis appellatur et Classica' (Plin. N. H. 3. 4, 5, 35), owing its foundation to Julius Caesar (Marquardt, Staatsv. i. 264), and its importance to the naval station established there by Augustus (A. 4. 5, 1). On the date of Agricola's birth there see c. 44, 1, and note.

2. **Caesarum**, i.e. of different Caesars, probably Augustus and Tiberius.

3. **quae**, &c. W. thinks these words a gloss, on the ground that many of Caesar's procurators were only freedmen; but it is plain that the greater procuratorships are referred to, carrying with them the government of lesser Caesarian provinces, or a position answering to that of a senatorial quaestor in greater ones (see c. 9, 5, and note); and that such (even if sometimes held by freedmen) were considered titles of equestrian nobility is shown by their being recorded on inscriptions of knights, as were magistracies on those of a senator. See A. Vol. i. Introd. p. 103; Mommsen, Staatsr. iii. 563; Marquardt, ii. 379; Friedländer, Sittengeschichte, i. 256. ×

illi. Wölfflin (Phil. xxvi. 140) supports this correction from H. 1. 48, 3; 2. 50, 1; 3. 86, 1, &c. The same instances show that 'fuit' need not be inserted.

senatorii ordinis. Urlichs thinks, from an allusion to his 'ludi' in Sen. de Ben. 2. 21, 5, that he reached the praetorship. The cognomen belongs also to the Pomponii (see A. 13. 32, 3, and note). This brachylogical genit. of quality is common in Tacitus (cp. 'rarae castitatis' below; c. 9, 1, &c.) and found also in Caes. and Livy: see A. i. Introd. p. 52, § 34; Dr. S. u. S. § 72.

4. **studio**, &c. He is called 'vir egregius' in Sen. l. l. and Ep. 29, 6, and besides being an orator and philosopher, is mentioned in Col. 1. 1, 14, as author of a treatise 'de vineis,' 'facete et erudite composita,' from which a passage is cited.

5. **meritus**, 'earned': cp. 'vulnera mereri,' G. 14, 5; 'crimen meruit,' H. 3. 78, 5, &c.

namque, explaining the opportunity taken to gratify an old spite. Seneca rhetorically says of him (de Ben. 2. 21, 5), 'quem C. Caesar occidit ob hoc unum, quod melior vir esset quam esse quemquam tyranno expedit.' Possibly

× but Furneaux is not answering the doubt — is "equestris nobilitas est" = "which means the distinction of knight-hood" or is the meaning "which means the nobler order of knight-hood": major as opposed to an inferior order of knight-hood: Mayor on Juvenal X. 95 has a note which says "Equites egregii, Equites [illegible]

yet does convey the idea it does not bring it out sufficiently
r Mayor does not quote this passage from the Agricola
r Tacitus' words seem as vague as my loose translation or
as Furneaux's note

2 accusare iussus et, quia abnuerat, interfectus est. mater Iulia Procilla fuit, rarae castitatis. in huius sinu indulgentiaque educatus per omnem honestarum artium cultum pueritiam
3 adulescentiamque transegit. arcebat eum ab inlecebris peccantium praeter ipsius bonam integramque naturam, quod statim parvulus sedem ac magistram studiorum Massiliam habuit, locum Graeca comitate et provinciali parsimonia
4 mixtum ac bene compositum. memoria teneo solitum ipsum narrare se prima in iuventa studium philosophiae acrius,

3. honestatis Δ. 4. tamen (for eum) Δ. 9. in om. Δ. ac iuris (for acrius) Pichena.

'iussus et interfectus' imply an interval between the two events; and, if the date of the birth of Agricola is rightly read (c. 44, 1), his father cannot have died till near the end of A. D. 39. Urlichs (p. 9) thinks he may have perished when Gaius returned from Gaul in A. D. 40.

M. Silanum, the father of the first wife of Gaius (A. 6. 20, 1), probably the cos. suff. of 768, A. D. 15 (see on A. 3. 24, 5). He had incurred the jealousy of Gaius as proconsul of Africa (H. 4. 48, 3), and was compelled to suicide (Suet. Cal. 23; Dio, 59. 8, 4). The date of his death is fixed to A. D. 38 by the election of a successor to him among the Arvales in that year (C. I. L. vi. 2028 c).

1. **mater**. On the time and place of her death, see c. 7, 1. 'Procillus' is a Gallo-Roman name of high position in Caesar's time (see B. G. 1. 19, 3; 47, 4; 53, 5). Boionia Procilla, from the same province, was grandmother of Antoninus Pius (vit. 1, 4).

2. **sinu indulgentiaque**, best taken, with K., as hendiadys, 'in her loving nurture'; 'indulgentia' has often a bad sense, but is used of parental tenderness in several places cited by W. For a mother thus to bring up her child herself instead of putting it out to nurse is spoken of as an old custom (cp. Marquardt, Privatleben, 58, 5) dying out, and the generally vicious system of educating children is often dwelt upon: cp. Dial. 28–29 and Gudeman's notes, also Juv. Sat. 14. and the contrast suggested by Tacitus in G. 20, 1.

3. **per omnem**, &c., 'by a course of training in all honourable studies' (cp. c. 2, 2). On the liberal arts, as then understood, see Gudeman on Dial. 30, 18, where five (geometry, music, grammar, dialectic, ethics) are expressly mentioned. 'Per' often denotes the mode in which time is spent: cp. c. 18, 6; G. 15, 1; H. 3. 78, 1, &c.

4. **peccantium**, aoristic, with substantival force: cp. c. 5, 4; 11, 2; 32, 5; 40, 3; 41, 1, &c.; A. i. Introd. p. 58, § 54; Dr. S. u. S. § 207. A few instances are found in classical prose.

5. **bonam integramque naturam**, 'his good and untainted disposition': cp. 'sincera et integra et nullis pravitatibus detorta . . . natura,' Dial. 28, 7.

6. **Massiliam.** Cicero speaks strongly (pro Flacc. 26, 63) of the 'disciplina' and 'gravitas' of this city, and Strabo, in a very interesting description of its condition at his time (4. 1, 6, 179–181), says that the best Romans preferred it to Athens as a place of Greek culture, which he ascribes to its greater simplicity of life.

7. **comitate**, 'courtesy,' refinement of manners, opposed to 'adrogantia' (H. 1. 10, 3), or roughness generally (cp. A. 4. 7, 1.)

provinciali parsimonia: cp. A. 3. 55, 4; 16. 5, 1.

8. **mixtum**, &c., 'presenting a mixture and happy blending': the latter expression lays stress on 'bene,' and such a concise use of 'mixtus' for 'in quo mixta sunt' resembles H. 1. 10, 3; A. 6. 51, 6.

9. **philosophiae.** Wölfflin notes that Tacitus generally uses 'sapientia' and 'sapiens,' substituting 'philosophia' or 'philosophus' here and in A. 13. 42, 6 (for variation in the same passage), and in H. 3. 81, 1 only.

distinct order from the common equites that special
privileges: were these men also known as equites nobiles
equestris nobilitas, equites splendidi, speciosi
(other adjectives which are found with equites): That is the
question which this passage suggests: my translation of the

ultraque quam concessum Romano ac senatori, hausisse, ni prudentia matris incensum ac flagrantem animum coercuisset. scilicet sublime et erectum ingenium pulchritudinem ac speciem magnae excelsaeque gloriae vehementius quam caute adpetebat. mox mitigavit ratio et aetas, retinuitque, quod est difficillimum, ex sapientia modum.

5. Prima castrorum rudimenta in Britannia Suetonio Pau-

1. ultra quam: text Bährens. senatorio Heraeus, [ac senatori] Gudeman. 4. excelsae magnaeque P. cautius Nipp. 5. que om. Δ. 6. Brittania here and in some other places Δ.

acrius, taken as an adverb defined by the following words; the correction 'ultraque' rests on the probable supposition that 'q;' dropped out before 'q̄'; the asyndeton is generally retained, but is certainly harsh.

1. **concessum.** The old Roman antipathy to philosophy, noticed apologetically by Cicero ('vereor ne quibusdam bonis viris philosophiae nomen sit invisum,' Off. 2. 1, 2), still survived (see Friedlaender iii. 616), and rested on its drawing men away from active life: cp. 'ut nomine magnifico segne otium velaret' (H. 4. 5, 2). Soon after Agricola's youth, Stoicism, as the creed of Thrasea and his political partisans, became especially obnoxious to Nero, whose advisers represented it to him as actively mischievous (A. 14. 57, 5); a charge combated by Seneca (Ep. 73, 1). See A. ii. Introd. p. 83, foll. 'Senatori' may possibly be used, by anticipation, of an aspirant to that rank; and some such word (perhaps 'senatorio') seems appropriately to emphasize 'Romano.'

hausisse, 'would have imbibed,' often used in similar figures: cp. c. 40, 4; H. 1. 51, 6; 4. 5, 4, and Gudeman on Dial. 28, 28. In 'oratio recta' 'hauriebat' would probably have been used (cp. 'agitasse,' c. 13, 4); the indicative in this tense having constantly the force of a subjunctive to denote what was on the point of happening, but for some hindrance: cp. A. i. Introd. p. 57, § 50; Dr. S. u. S. § 194; Roby, 1574.

3. **sublime et erectum**, &c. Synonyms are again accumulated: 'his lofty and elevated mind was craving the beauty and splendour (or perhaps, hendiadys, 'the beautiful ideal': cp. 'species eloquentiae,' Cic. Or. 5, 18) of great and sublime glory' (that of a life spent in contemplation of the noblest ideas). The second word generally strengthens the first.

4. **vehementius quam caute**, 'with more ardour than caution.' We should expect 'quam cautius' (cp. c. 44, 2, &c.); but the manuscript text has 'acrius quam considerate' in H. 1. 83, 3. It is perhaps analagous to other uses of positive for comparative in Tacitus (as A. 2. 5, 2; 4. 61, 1, &c.), and possibly here, as W. thinks, a more decisive negation is implied. For the caution required see note above on 'concessum.'

5. **ratio**, 'discretion': cp. c. 6, 4.

6. **modum**, probably best taken in the sense of μεσότητα, 'balance,' a temperament preventing him from being carried into extremes of thought or action. Cp. 'est modus in rebus,' Hor. Sat. 1. 1, 106.

7. **castrorum rudimenta**, 'apprenticeship in camp life': cp. 'castrorum experimentis' (c. 16, 4) and the poetical use of 'belli rudimenta' (Verg. Aen. 11, 156), and similar phrases in Liv., &c. He was 'tribunus militum' (§ 2), the tenure of which office, or that of 'praefectus alae laticlavius,' was established by Augustus as a qualification for admission to the quaestorship and senate (Suet. Aug. 38).

Suetonio Paulino. This famous officer (cp. c. 14–16) is well known both in the Annals (14. 29–39) and Histories (1. 87, 3, &c.), and had previously won distinction in Mauretania in 794–795, A.D. 41–42, and was probably cos. suff. in the latter year: see note on A. 14. 29, 2. His memoirs are noted in

× The gen[era]l sense is clear: he remained a student, but retained his balance: but how it is reached is hard to see: is ex = "over above his phil." "outside of his phil." "side by side with his phil." [it certainly is not "by means of – out of – his phil."] "after all" his phil.

lino, diligenti ac moderato duci, adprobavit, electus quem
2 contubernio aestimaret. nec Agricola licenter, more iuvenum,
qui militiam in lasciviam vertunt, neque segniter ad voluptates
et commeatus titulum tribunatus et inscitiam rettulit: sed
noscere provinciam, nosci exercitui, discere a peritis, sequi
optimos, nihil adpetere in iactationem, nihil ob formidinem
3 recusare simulque et anxius et intentus agere. non sane alias
excitatior magisque in ambiguo Britannia fuit: trucidati

2. licenter egit Heraeus. 3. nec Δ (and so generally), [neque segniter] W. 5. iustitiam Δ. 6. in om. P and many edd. 8. exercitatior: text Buchner, erectior Vielhaber.

Plin. N. H. 5. 1, 14. The term 'moderatus' may refer to the discretion which led him to be regarded as 'cunctator ingenio' (H. 2. 25, 2).

1. **adprobavit,** 'effecit ut probarentur,' a concise combination of two statements, that he performed his first service under Paulinus, and to his satisfaction: cp. the use of 'adprobare' in c. 42, 2; A. 15. 59, 6, &c.

electus, aoristic, stating how the satisfaction was shown.

quem, &c. This might mean 'as one whom he would think worthy of the honour of being taken into his quarters'; the abl. being taken (with A.) as akin to that of price (cp. A. 1. 17, 6, &c.): or (with Ernesti) we could take the expression as equivalent to 'quem, in contubernium adsumptum, penitus exploraret' (cp. 'aestimato carmine,' A. 6. 12, 2). It seems a choice of difficulties, but no emendation has found much acceptance. For the custom referred to cp. Suet. Iul. 2; Cic. pro Planc. 11, 27, and other passages cited by W. (Prol. 134, foll.). A tribune would not ordinarily be on the staff of the commander-in-chief. but on that of the 'legatus legionis.'

2. **nec Agricola,** &c., equivalent to 'et Agricola neque,' as in c. 8, 3; 18, 7, to 'et . . . non.' In the construction of the following words, the supposition that 'egit' is to be supplied with 'licenter' (cp. c. 19, 2; H. 1. 84, 1) seems hardly admissible where it has to stand in contrast with another verb, and its insertion (cp. A. 14. 48, 1) or the omission of 'neque segniter' are rather strong remedies. It seems possible to refer 'rettulit,' &c., to both clauses, and to take the whole to mean 'nor did Agricola wantonly, like young men who turn military service into self-indulgence, or indolently (i.e. did not either from love of amusement or dislike of work) bring in his title of military tribune and his inexperience as a ground for taking pleasure and absence' (i.e. did not plead that his titular rank entitled him to such privileges, or that his inexperience made his absence unimportant). 'Rettulit' seems to mean 'pertinere putavit,' and 'commeatus' to explain 'voluptates.' The demoralization of the service by the constant purchase of furloughs and exemptions is dwelt upon in H. 1. 46, 3–6.

5. **noscere . . . nosci**: cp. H. 3. 24, 1. The infinitives are historical.

6. **in,** 'for the sake of' (cp. c. 8, 3, and note); 'ob,' by reason of.

7. **simulque,** coupling 'agere' to the other verbs.

et anxius et intentus, 'both with caution and vigilance.' The former word (apparently nowhere else so used) denotes that he did not despise his enemy (Maxa).

non . . . alias, often so used emphatically at the beginning of a sentence (A. 2. 46, 4; 3. 73, 2, &c.), apparently after Vergil (G. 1, 487).

8. **excitatior,** 'more stirred': cp. Dial. 36, 1; H. 1. 83, 3, &c. 'Exercitatus' has the sense of 'stormtossed' in Hor. Epod. 9, 31, but Wölfflin (Philol. xxvi. 141) shows that its meaning elsewhere in Tacitus (c. 36, 1; A. 12. 12, 2; 14. 59, 3) is very different; nor would 'exercitior' (cp. c. 39, 4;

veterani, incensae coloniae, intersepti exercitus; tum de
salute, mox de victoria certavere. quae cuncta etsi consiliis 4
ductuque alterius agebantur, ac summa rerum et recuperatae
provinciae gloria in ducem cessit, artem et usum et stimulos
addidere iuveni, intravitque animum militaris gloriae cupido,
ingrata temporibus, quibus sinistra erga eminentes interpre-
tatio nec minus periculum ex magna fama quam ex mala.

6. Hinc ad capessendos magistratus in urbem degressus

1. intercepti P and most edd. 3. reciperatae L, Halm. 8. degressus Γ, digressus Γ[2], Δ.

A. 1. 17, 7; 35, 2) be suitable here. This participle is found in Cic. and its comparative in Liv. (4. 37, 9), Plin. ma. and Quint.

in ambiguo, 'in uncertainty' (cp. H. 2. 45, 4, &c.), its possession trembling in the balance.

1. **coloniae**, probably a rhetorical plural, referring only to Camulodunum (Colchester), or loosely including other towns, not colonies (as London and Verulam), which suffered also. The 'veterani' were the colonists and garrison. On the events see A. 14. 32.

intersepti, 'isolated': cp. H. 3. 21, 2; 53, 2. 'Exercitus' is often used of separate legions (cp. A. 3. 12, 6; H. 3. 15, 1, &c.); and that these were prevented from combination on this occasion is shown by the fact that Paulinus had little more than one legion and auxiliaries with him (A. 14. 34, 1). The form in the other places is 'intersaepio,' which somewhat helps the emendation 'intercepti' here, with the meaning 'cut off' or 'cut to pieces' (cp. c. 28, 4; 43, 2, &c.); 'exercitus' being in that case another rhetorical plural for the Ninth legion (A. 14. 32, 6).

de salute, &c.: cp. c. 26, 3, and note.

3. **alterius.** This genitive is constantly used for 'alius' to avoid the ambiguity of that form: cp. c. 17, 3; H. 2. 90, 1, &c.

summa rerum. This could be taken to mean 'the supremacy' (as in H. 2. 33, 4, &c.) or 'the general plan' (as in H. 2. 81, 4; 3. 50, 4, &c.), if some such meaning as 'devolved upon,' or 'rested with,' were supplied by zeugma from 'cessit in.' A. would make it mean 'the decisive result' (cp. 'summa rerum expectatio,' Caes. B. C. 1. 21, 6), and takes the following words as defining it. Maxa takes it as 'summa gloria rerum et recuperatae provinciae.' For 'cessit in' ('passed to') cp. A. 1. 1, 3; H. 3. 83, 1, &c.

recuperatae (cp. c. 17, 1): this form occurs in six places in Med. II, in all of which Halm alters to 'recip.' in accordance with other places in that MS. and in Med. I.

4. **artem et usum**, 'skill and experience': cp. 'scientia atque usus militum,' Caes. B. G. 2. 20, 3. 'Addere stimulos' is a known phrase (Lucan 1. 263), but the verb is used also with 'spem,' 'metum,' &c. in the sense of 'dare.'

5. **cupido.** In the minor works this word occurs here only, 'cupiditas' four times; the latter being rare in Hist. and never found in Ann., and 'cupido' very common in both: cp. Gudeman on Dial. 2, 8.

6. **temporibus**, abl. The later years of Nero are referred to, and the chief instance in the writer's mind is no doubt that of Corbulo.

sinistra, 'unfavourable': cp. 'sinistra fama,' H. 1. 51, 8, and many similar phrases.

erga, 'against,' or 'in relation to,' a sense common in Tacitus (A. 2. 2, 5; 76, 3; 4. 11, 3, &c.) and very rare before him. See A. i. Introd. p. 60, § 59; Dr. S. u. S. § 98; Roby, 1931, 1932.

7. **ex magna . . . ex mala**: 'as much peril arose from fame as from infamy.' On the alliteration cp. Introd. p. 20.

8. **degressus**, to be read against Γ[2] and Δ here, as against both MSS. in

Domitiam Decidianam, splendidis natalibus ortam, sibi iunxit;
idque matrimonium ad maiora nitenti decus ac robur fuit.
vixeruntque mira concordia, per mutuam caritatem et in
vicem se anteponendo, nisi quod in bona uxore tanto maior
2 laus, quanto in mala plus culpae est. sors quaesturae pro-

4. appetendo Δ, text Γ P, amplectendo Bezzenberger.

c. 18, 3, 'degredi' being generally used of departing from a place, as 'digredi' of parting from a person: cp. Nipp. on A. 2. 69. Urlichs suggests that he may have left towards the end of A. D. 61, and may have held the 'vigintiviratus' (A. 3. 29, 1) in 62.

1. **natalibus**, used of ancestry in the silver age, in several places in Tacitus, also Plin. mi., Juv., &c. Her father Decidius Domitius is shown by an inscription (C. I. L. vi. 1403, Henzen 6456) to have been one of the first 'quaestores aerarii' chosen by nomination of Claudius (in 797, A. D. 44: cp. 13. 29, 2, and note; Dio, 60. 24, 1), and to have been afterwards praetor (by the same ordinance: cp. Dio, l. l.). Probably the marriage took place in 62, and the son (§ 3) was born in time to enable Agricola to gain a year so as to stand for the quaestorship at the end of 63 (see A.'s note), in his twenty-fourth year.

2. **decus ac robur**, 'gave distinction and substantial help': probably W. and Urlichs (p. 11) are right in referring the former to the illustrious family of his wife, the second, to the advantage derived from his marriage and paternity under the 'lex Papia Poppaea' (see A. i. App. iii), as shown in the previous note.

3. **vixeruntque**, &c. Marquardt (Privatl. 62) notes the rare record of instances of Roman conjugal affection (e. g. Val. Max. 4. 6, 1–5; Plin. Pan. 83; and some inscriptions, as Or. 4626–4652, &c.); but the portraits of satirists must not be taken as typical. As regards the construction, 'concordia' is modal abl., and 'per . . . anteponendo' seems best taken as expressing the instrumentality by which the concord was maintained. On this use of 'per' see on c. 3, 3.

in vicem se anteponendo, 'preferring one another,' 'treating each other as superior.' The construction seems different from other instances of 'invicem se' (cp. Gudeman on Dial. 25, 23), and to be one in which clearness is sacrificed to conciseness; as it is only by the help of the context that we could tell that 'se anteponendo' means 'ponendo ante se.' The variation of the MSS. may argue that the original text was obscure; but 'appetendo' would give a very weak sense.

4. **nisi quod**, 'were it not that'; an expression often used to qualify something that has been stated (cp. c. 16, 6, &c.), and sometimes (cp. A. 1. 33, 5; 14. 14, 6, and notes) to qualify something implied in a previous statement. Here the connecting link is much more difficult to supply than in the other instances, but appears to be that the superiority which each assigned to the other was equally deserved by both. The sentence is also in itself obscure from conciseness, but appears to mean that, as a bad wife is more blamed than a bad husband (for she has no other capacity in which she can redeem herself), so a good wife deserves higher praise than a good husband (as being perfect in the chief function of her life). See A's note.

5. **sors quaesturae**, &c. One of the quaestors of the year was allotted as vicegerent to the proconsul of each senatorial province. L. Salvius Otho Titianus, the brother of the emperor Otho, and prominent in the first two Books of the Histories, had been consul A. D. 52 (A. 12. 52, 1), and it appears (see A's note) that his proconsulship of Asia must have fallen in the year 816–817, A. D. 63–64. Agricola must therefore have been quaestor in the latter year; and would, as Urlichs (p. 13) shows, have served only a part of the year under Titianus, and the remainder under the upright Antistius Vetus (see on A. 16. 10, 2).

vinciam Asiam, pro consule Salvium Titianum dedit, quorum neutro corruptus est, quamquam et provincia dives ac parata peccantibus, et pro consule in omnem aviditatem pronus quantalibet facilitate redempturus esset mutuam dissimulationem mali. auctus est ibi filia, in subsidium simul et solacium; **3**
nam filium ante sublatum brevi amisit. mox inter quaesturam ac tribunatum plebis atque ipsum etiam tribunatus annum quiete et otio transiit, gnarus sub Nerone temporum, quibus inertia pro sapientia fuit. idem praeturae tenor et **4**

1. procunsulem Γ, procōs Δ, text Halm, and in l. 3. 2. ac Γ, et Δ, so also in l. 7. 4. faelicitate Δ. 6. inter preturam quaesturam Γ, P, text Δ. 8. quietis Δ. transit Γ, P, text Δ, R. 9. certior: tenor R, otium Ritt, terror, languor, torpor al.

2. **neutro** = 'neutra re'; so 'nullo,' A. 3. 15, 4, where see note.

parata peccantibus (sc. 'esset,' supplied from below), 'made for wrongdoers,' by the temptations of its wealth and works of art, and by the facility of finding tools for iniquity. Cicero (ad Q. F. 1. 1, 29) congratulates his brother, who had held that proconsulship for three years, on having abstained from all plunder and preserved his integrity 'in tanto imperio, tam depravatis moribus, tam corruptrice provincia,' and uses similar language elsewhere.

3. **quantalibet**, here alone in Tacitus; first in Livy and Ovid.

4. **facilitate**: cp. c. 9, 4; here in a bad sense, 'connivance.'

redempturus esset, &c., 'would be ready to purchase a reciprocal concealment of misdeeds': cp. H. 4. 56, 4; and 'alienae culpae dissimulator' (H. 2. 56, 3).

5. **auctus est**; so used of the growth of a family in A. 2. 84, 3; Cic. Att. 1. 2, 1. On the daughter see c. 9, 7. It is shown that his wife accompanied him to the province (cp. also c. 29, 1); a custom which had been attacked (A. 3. 33–34), but was not forbidden.

in subsidium, by giving him the privileges of a parent (see note below, and above on § 1).

solacium, 'compensation': cp. c. 44, 5; H. 1. 77, 4, &c.

6. **inter**, 'the interval between,' probably one year (Staatsr. i. 535). We should have expected 'annum inter,' but Tacitus may have preferred a harsh construction to repeating the word twice. He would take precedence of a childless man: cp. Plin. Ep. 7. 16, 2 'simul quaestores Caesaris fuimus; ille me in tribunatu liberorum iure praecessit, ego illum in praetura sum consecutus, cum mihi annum Caesar remisisset.'

8. **quiete et otio**, modal abl. These synonyms recur in c. 21, 1; 42, 2. According to the chronology given, his tribunate would fall in the year A. D. 66, in which Arulenus Rusticus, who would thus have been one of his colleagues, contemplated exercising his veto in the trial of Thrasea (see on c. 2, 1).

sub Nerone, sc. 'existentium,' or equivalent to an attributive adjective: cp. c. 16, 1.

9. **quibus inertia**, &c. In those times Memmius Regulus was 'quiete defensus' (A. 14. 47, 2), and Galba made his real indolence pass for prudence (H. 1. 49, 6). Pliny speaks thus of his own times (Ep. 8. 14, 7), 'suspecta virtus, inertia in pretio.'

praeturae. This again might be held after the interval of another year, and would thus fall in Nero's last year (A. D. 68): cp. 'sequens annus' (c. 7, 1).

tenor. This widely accepted emendation is perhaps to be retained, but under protest, as too far from the MSS., and not known as a Tacitean word. It is used, with or without a genit. (as 'vitae') by Augustan poets and Livy; and 'et silentium' might be explanatory, or a hendiadys, like 'honore iudicioque'

silentium; nec enim iurisdictio obvenerat. ludos et inania honoris medio rationis atque abundantiae duxit, uti longe a luxuria, ita famae propior. tum electus a Galba ad dona

2. medio luxuriae Δ, modo rationis P, whence moderationis L, media rationis Roth and Peerlkamp, medio moderationis Gudeman. 3. proprior Δ.

(c. 43, 4), &c. 'His praetorship had the same quiet course.' 'Otium' is perhaps the nearest emendation, but Maxa notes that the repetition of similar syllables would sound ill. He inclines, with Peerlkamp, to transpose, reading 'inertia certior et pro sapientia fuit. idem praeturae silentium.'

1. **nec enim**, &c. 'Iurisdictio,' strictly speaking, belonged only to the 'praetor urbanus' and 'peregrinus,' though in a less technical sense to several others. But at this date the whole number now amounted sometimes to eighteen (see Staatsr. ii. 203), some of whom had no judicial duties of any kind. Urlichs (p. 14, foll.) thinks he probably was one of those who had charge of a city region.

ludos. The 'cura ludorum,' in old times partially devolving on praetors, was wholly assigned to them by Augustus in 732, B.C. 22 (Dio, 54. 2, 3), and becomes one of their most prominent functions: cp. Juv. 10, 36, and many other passages cited in Staatsr. ii. 237, n. 1.

et inania honoris, 'and vanities of office'; not distinguished from, but explanatory of 'ludos,' and suggesting a contrast to substantial functions (cp. A. 4. 41, 3, &c.).

2. **medio . . . duxit.** This reading can only be explained by taking 'ducere ludos' to be a strained analogy to 'ducere pompam' or 'funus' (cp. A. 16. 6, 3; H. 4. 47, 2), or to 'ducere iter,' 'tempus,' and 'medio' as an abl. of direction, or a modal abl.: 'He ordered in a middle course' or 'compromise.' It is hardly possible to get this meaning out of the words or to amend them satisfactorily. Any emendation which takes 'duxit' in the sense of 'arbitratus est,' such as that of Roth ('he considered to be intermediate between') or L. ('he considered to partake of the nature of moderation,' &c.) seems to require the addition of 'esse oportere,' or words to that effect.

rationis atque abundantiae, 'between discretion and lavishness' (cp. 'liberalitati inesse rationem,' Plin. Pan. 38). Such a genit. with the force of 'inter' is used with 'medius' by poets (Verg. Aen. 4, 184; Ov. M. 5, 564; 6, 409, &c.); but the meaning given to 'ratio' is hardly satisfactory, and 'abundantia' is rather used of large means than large expenditure. The first of these difficulties would be met by the suggestion 'medio moderationis,' and the loss of the first part of the latter word could be accounted for (see Gudeman, in Class. Rev. xi. 326).

3. **famae propior**, probably 'approaching nearer to distinction.' Vulgar extravagance was so in fashion that it was more distinguished to avoid it. Cp. 'summae spei propior' (A. 1. 34, 1). In other similar places 'propior' rather expresses a person's inclination (A. 3. 30, 4; 16. 9, 4, &c.).

tum, &c. This appointment must have been in the same year, and while he was still praetor. After the fire, Nero had repaired the loss of works of art in Rome by pillage throughout the empire (see A. 15. 45, and notes), which must be the 'sacrilegium' here referred to. But we have no reason to think that any restoration of this plunder took place or was even contemplated; and it seems more probable, as A. suggests, that Agricola may have been commissioned to inquire into other misappropriations of temple treasure by individuals during the fire or afterwards. In early times we hear of a special board appointed for such a 'conquisitio' (cp. 'triumviri sacris conquirendis donisque persignandis' Liv. 25. 7, 5), and under the empire a permanent board is found of 'curatores operum publicorum' (see Staatsr. ii. 443), in which office Vitellius is said (Suet. Vit. 5) to have committed many thefts from temples. Whether Agricola held this

templorum recognoscenda diligentissima conquisitione fecit,
ne cuius alterius sacrilegium res publica quam Neronis sen-
sisset.

7. Sequens annus gravi vulnere animum domumque eius
adflixit. nam classis Othoniana licenter vaga dum Intimilium 2
(Liguriae pars est) hostiliter populatur, matrem Agricolae in
praediis suis interfecit, praediaque ipsa et magnam patrimonii
partem diripuit, quae causa caedis fuerat. igitur ad sollemnia 3
pietatis profectus Agricola, nuntio adfectati a Vespasiano
imperii deprehensus ac statim in partes transgressus est.
initia principatus ac statum urbis Mucianus regebat, iuvene 4

1. effecit Heinsius, Halm. 5. in templo: in Temelium Urs, Intemelios L, Intemelium F Pithoeus. 10. deprehensus est ac . . . transgressus Δ.

office (as Urlichs thinks) or a more special commission, cannot be ascertained.

2. ne = 'ut non,' as in A. 14. 11, 2; 28, 3, &c., and in classical Latin (cp. W. Proleg. p. 150), esp. 'factum ne' (Cic. Verr. 5. 2, 5), 'faciet ne' (Ov. ex P. 1. 1, 65). For the genit. 'alterius' cp. c. 5, 4, and 'ne cuius alterius inscitia peccaretur' (A. 15. 25, 3).

sensisset. This use of the pluperf. is explained by W. (Prol. 151) and A., who cite a very similar instance from Plin. Pan. 40, 'effecisti ne malos principes habuissemus,' implying that Trajan had blotted out the memory of past misgovernment. Peter compares also 'confitendum, ne frustra quaesivisset' (A. 3. 67, 2). So here an independent sentence would have run 'iam non . . . respublica . . . senserat.' Agricola had brought to pass such a restitution that all other sacrilege, except that of Nero, became as if it never had been.

4. **Sequens annus,** the famous year of the four emperors, 822, A.D. 69. Tacitus often thus personifies 'annus' (c. 22, 1; A. 4. 55, 1, &c.), 'dies,' &c.

5. **classis.** On the dispatch of this fleet, probably about March, see H. 1. 87; on its raid upon Liguria, H. 2. 12–15.

Intimilium, shown to be the correct form of the name by Mommsen on C. I. L. v. 2, p. 900. This town, the modern Vintimiglia, is called Albintimilium in H. 2. 13, 1, Ἄλβιον Ἰντεμέλιον in Strab. 4. 6, 2, 202.

6. **Liguriae,** &c. Cp. the similar explanation in c. 22, 1, &c.; also 'Ingauni (Ligurum ea gens est),' in Liv. 28. 46, 9.

8. **causa caedis.** The narrative in H. l. l. says, 'calamitatibus insontium expleta avaritia.' Any resistance to robbery caused bloodshed (cp. H. 4. 1, 3).

9. **adfectati . . . imperii,** 'aiming at the empire': cp. 'adfectare imperium,' Liv. 1. 50, 5; 'regnum adfectans,' A. 2. 88, 3, &c. Vespasian's 'primus principatus dies' was July 1, on which day the legions at Alexandria took the oath in his name, as did those of Judaea in his presence on the 3rd (H. 2. 79, 1).

10. **deprehensus,** 'was overtaken': cp. c. 34, 3. One of the early acts of the party was to send letters to Gaul (H. 2. 86, 7).

in partes, &c.; so in several places in H. (e.g. 1. 13, 9). Forum Iulii was occupied for Vespasian by the procurator, Valerius Paulinus, about October (H. 3. 43, 1).

11. **initia,** &c. Mucianus entered Rome at the end of the year, just after the death of Vitellius, when the city was in a state of anarchy: see H. 4. 11, 1. He held no formal magistracy at that time.

iuvene admodum: cp. H. 2. 78, 4; 4. 5, 2. He was eighteen years old. Tacitus uses the same expression of

admodum Domitiano et ex paterna fortuna tantum licentiam
5 usurpante. is missum ad dilectus agendos Agricolam integreque ac strenue versatum vicensimae legioni tarde ad sacramentum transgressae praeposuit, ubi decessor seditiose agere narrabatur : quippe legatis quoque consularibus nimia ac formidolosa erat, nec legatus praetorius ad cohibendum
6 potens, incertum suo an militum ingenio. ita successor simul

2. delectus (and c. 13; 15; 31) : text Rigler. in Britannia add. Ritt. 4. sub decessore Madvig (Adv. ii. 566), [ubi decessor . . .] seditiose ea agere W, quae seditiose . . . erat, nec decessor ad Urlichs. 5. consularis vis nimia Madvig.

himself at the professed date of the 'Dialogus' (Dial. 1, 2). The profligacy and license of Domitian at this time are described in H. 4. 2, 1; 39, 2. He was made praetor at the beginning of A.D. 70; Vespasian being then in Egypt, Titus in Palestine.

1. **fortuna**, 'imperial rank': cp. c. 13, 4, and note.

2. **ad dilectus agendos.** Probably this was in Italy, where, if a 'dilectus' was held (which appears to have been extremely rare), commissioners of senatorial rank were appointed (see Staatsr. ii. 850). In the provinces the duty was discharged by the governor, or by equestrian officers called 'dilectatores': see note on A 4. 4, 4.

integre, 'with rectitude' (cp. H. 1. 48, 6; 52, 2, &c.), allowing no one to buy exemption from service.

3. **vicensimae**, one of the British legions from the first invasion, quartered probably at this date, as afterwards, at Deva (Chester). It is somewhat strange that the province is not mentioned till the next chapter; but it is difficult to suppose (with Ritter) that 'in Britannia' has dropped out here.

tarde : cp. H. 1. 8, 6; A. 1. 34, 4. It appears from H. 3. 44, 2, that the only British legion forward to accept Vespasian was the Second, which he had commanded in the original expedition.

4. **ubi decessor, &c.** 'Ubi' can well mean 'apud quam,' and 'decessor' is used, as here, in correlation to 'successor' in Cic. p. Scaur. § 33. But there is much difficulty in the whole passage; for the 'decessor' must be the 'legatus praetorius' below, who is only spoken of as weak. A reconciliation has been sought by supposing that 'narrabatur' refers to the report which reached Rome, and 'quippe,' &c., to what Tacitus believed to be the true story, that the legion in itself was mutinous, and the legatus powerless. But in H. 1. 60, this legatus, Roscius Caelius, is represented as an active instigator of mutiny against the governor, Trebellius, whom he forced to fly from the province. It appears here that two 'legati consulares' are spoken of; and we may perhaps suppose, with Nipp. (Rh. Mus. xviii. 1863, 350–354), that Caelius, though hostile to Trebellius, had vainly tried to preserve obedience under Bolanus. The simple change of 'sub decessore' for 'ubi decessor' would do much, without further alteration, to remove the difficulty, and the legion would best be said 'seditiose agere' (H. 5. 12, 3).

5. **legatis . . . consularibus.** The governors of such Caesarian provinces as contained two or more legions, were always of this rank. See Marquardt, i. 548.

nimia, 'too strong'; so in Vell. 2. 32, 1, Pompeius is called 'nimius liberae reipublicae.'

6. **legatus praetorius.** The commanding officer of a legion ('legatus legionis') was always at this time one who had been or was qualified to be praetor: see A. 2. 36, 1; 14. 28, 1, and notes.

7. **ita, &c.** It is implied that he restored discipline, but the point dwelt upon is his after-treatment of the soldiers as if they had been always loyal, and thus saving their reputation and his predecessor's.

et ultor electus rarissima moderatione maluit videri invenisse bonos quam fecisse.

8. Praeerat tunc Britanniae Vettius Bolanus, placidius quam feroci provincia dignum est. temperavit Agricola vim suam ardoremque compescuit, ne incresceret, peritus obsequi eruditusque utilia honestis miscere. brevi deinde Britannia 2
consularem Petilium Cerialem accepit. habuerunt virtutes spatium exemplorum, sed primo Cerialis labores modo et discrimina, mox et gloriam communicabat: saepe parti exercitus in experimentum, aliquando maioribus copiis ex eventu

1. ulctor Δ. 2. donos Δ. 3. v^{c}etius volanus Γ, text Δ: cp. c. 16. 4. esset Acid., est om. Gudeman. 5. nimis incresceret Prammer, insolesceret Cornelissen. 5. obsequii Ritt. 7. Caerialem Γ, in c. 17 Caerealis, text Δ, in c. 17 cerealis.

1. **moderatione**, either 'clemency,' as in H. 2. 29, 6; A. 12. 49, 4; 14. 49, 4, &c., or (perhaps better) 'modesty,' 'reticence' (cp. c. 42, 4, &c.), in not claiming credit for himself.

3. **Vettius Bolanus**, sent out by Vitellius when Trebellius fled to him (H. 2. 65, 4). He had been legatus legionis in the East under Corbulo (A. 15. 3, 1), was cos. suff. in 820 or 821, A.D. 67 or 68 (see reff. in Klein, Fasti), and afterwards procos. of Asia, as stated in a poem of Statius to his son Crispinus (Silv. 5. 2, 56–58). His government of Britain is similarly represented as inactive in c. 16, 6; H. 2. 97, 1: Statius (l. l. 143–149) credits him with warlike deeds and the foundation of 'castella'; but the language is obviously poetical.

4. **feroci**, 'turbulent' or 'warlike': cp. 'ferox gens,' H. 1. 59, 1; A. 3. 47, 5, &c. The Britons are ranked with 'validissimae gentes' in c. 12, 2.

dignum, 'suitable': Peter compares 'improbis viris digna,' Plaut. Bacch. 3. 4, 9. In other writings Tacitus omits the copula with 'dignus,' as H. 2. 32, 1, &c.

5. **ne incresceret**, sc. 'ipse,' 'not to become too famous.' The verb, found here alone in Tacitus, occurs first in Vergil, thence in Livy, &c.

peritus . . . eruditus, here alone with inf. in Tacitus, but the former also in Verg. Ecl. 10, 32; Pers. 2, 34; the latter also in Plin. N. H. 33. 11, 53, 149. For other such see A. i. Introd. p. 56, § 47, Gudeman on Dial. 16, 11. Ritter's emendation would be in accordance with c. 42, 1, &c., but is needless.

6. **utilia honestis miscere**, 'to combine expediency with duty'; not so to push his own reputation as to forget subordination.

7. **Petilium Cerialem.** He had commanded the Ninth legion in its disaster in Britain during the rising of Boudicca in A.D. 61 (A. 14. 32, 6), and in the civil war took up the cause of Vespasian, who was related to him (H. 3. 59, 4), was cos. suff. probably for a short time in A.D. 70 (Klein, Fasti), and was immediately afterwards sent to put down the rising of Civilis (H. 4, 68, 1, foll.). After his government of Britain (on which see c. 17, 2; Introd. p. 37), he was again cos. suff. in May, 827, A.D. 74 (Klein). His full name is Q. Petilius (or Petillius) Cerialis Caesius Rufus.

habuerunt, &c., 'then had great qualities room to show exemplary acts' (the force of 'exemplum' in A. 13. 44, 8; 15. 20, 2, &c.). Cp. the sentiment (13. 8, 1) on the appointment of Corbulo, 'videbaturque locus virtutibus patefactus.'

10. **in experimentum**, 'to test him': cp. 'in famam,' below.

ex eventu, 'on the strength of (cp. 'ex fama,' A. 4. 6, 5) his success' (cp. c. 22, 3, &c.).

3 praefecit. nec Agricola umquam in suam famam gestis exsultavit: ad auctorem ac ducem ut minister fortunam referebat. ita virtute in obsequendo, verecundia in praedicando extra invidiam nec extra gloriam erat.

9. Revertentem ab legatione legionis divus Vespasianus inter patricios adscivit; ac deinde provinciae Aquitaniae praeposuit, splendidae inprimis dignitatis administratione ac

3. in exsequendo Voss, Doed. 6. aequitaniae Δ. 7. proposuit Δ. dignitate administrationis Rigler.

1. **in**, 'with a view to,' a very common meaning in Tacitus: cp. 'in iactationem' (c. 5, 2); also c. 10, 1; 18, 7; 24, 1; 35, 3, &c.

2. **ad auctorem**, &c. For the adversative asyndeton cp. c. 37, 5; G. 38, 4; H. 2. 3, 5, &c. A. points out that Agricola is represented as speaking, not of his achievements ('gesta'), but of the success ('fortunam') attending the plans due to the originator and leader, whose instrument ('minister') he had been. A similar principle of German loyalty is mentioned in G. 14, 2.

4. **extra**: cp. 'extra vitia' (H. 1. 49, 4), 'extra sortem,' &c., and the use of 'citra' in c. 1, 3, &c.

nec = 'nec tamen': cp. c. 19, 3; A. 6. 37, 3, &c.; 'sine iniuria nec sine offensione' (Liv. 3. 55, 1); and the use of 'et' for 'et tamen,' on which cp. c. 9, 3, 15, 4; A. 1. 13, 2, and note; Dr. S. u. S., § 113.

5. **Revertentem.** Probably the present tense implies that this took place immediately on his return: cp. 'ingredienti' (c. 18, 6); 'respondens' (H. 2. 4, 3), &c. In other places it has a more aoristic force: cp. A. i. Introd. p. 58, § 54; Dr. S. u. S. § 207. He probably returned from Britain with Cerialis early in A.D. 74.

6. **inter patricios adscivit** (from 'adscisco'). The old power to co-opt new patrician 'gentes' into the 'curiae' (see Staatsr. iii. 29, foll.) had been long obsolete, and the patriciate became a gradually diminishing body, from which a few unimportant offices (as that of 'interrex,' 'rex sacrificulus,' and the 'flamines maiores') had still to be filled up. Partly to give more room for choice in these, but chiefly to compliment distinguished men and families, the patriciate had been granted to individuals (who thus founded new patrician houses) by Julius and Augustus Caesar, under special enactment, and by Claudius, Vespasian, and Titus, as by a censorial power analogous to that of choosing senators. See a fuller account in A. 11. 25, 2, and notes. The statement in Aur. Vict. Caes. 7, 9, that Vespasian found only 200 patrician families, and made them up to 1000, is thought to be a confusion between patricians and senators (Staatsr. ii. 1101, n. 4). Among those thus elevated by Vespasian was Annius Verus, grandfather of M. Aurelius (vit. 1, 2); others are recorded in Insc. Or. 773, Henzen 5447: cp. Urlichs, p. 20. The elevation of a citizen of Gaulish birth to this rank is noteworthy (see on c. 4, 1).

Aquitaniae. The part of Gaul originally so called lay between the Garonne and the Pyrenees (Caes. B. G. 1. 1, 2), but the province as constituted by Augustus extended northwards to the Loire. See Marquardt, Staatsr. i. 266; and on its people see Introd. p. 27.

7. **splendidae . . . dignitatis**, brachylogical genit. of quality, with abl. of respect added. All the 'tres Galliae' were Caesarian provinces under legati of praetorian rank, and were probably the most important of that class. Galba had held Aquitania just before his consulship (Suet. Galb. 6), and several others who did so are noted in Urlichs, pp. 21–22.

administratione, 'in respect of its functions.'

spe consulatus, cui destinarat. credunt plerique militaribus 2
ingeniis subtilitatem deesse, quia castrensis iurisdictio secura
et obtusior ac plura manu agens calliditatem fori non exer-
ceat. Agricola naturali prudentia, quamvis inter togatos,
facile iusteque agebat. iam vero tempora curarum remissio- 3
numque divisa: ubi conventus ac iudicia poscerent, gravis
intentus severus, et saepius misericors: ubi officio satis-
factum, nulla ultra potestatis persona; tristitiam et adrogan-

2. adesse Δ (cp. c. 42, 1). 3. forēn exerceat Δ. 5. temporis et curarum Δ. 7. [et saepius misericors] W, sed saepius Dr. 8. nullam . . . personam : text R, nullam . . . personam gessit Bährens, nihil ultra: potestatis personam exuerat Urlichs. [tristitiam . . . exuerat] W.

1. **destinarat**, generally used of an informal notification of purpose: the contracted form occurs in A. 6. 30, 2; Suet. Aug. 79; Ner. 6, &c. Such omission of 'eum,' 'se,' &c., is characteristic of Tacitus: cp. c. 42, 3; A. i. Introd. p. 43, § 8; Gud. on Dial. 32, 8, &c.

2. **subtilitatem**, here 'judicial discrimination,' capacity for drawing fine distinctions.

secura et obtusior, 'offhand and blunt,' going on broad general lines. Camp justice is satirized in Juv. 16, 13, foll.

3. **manu**, 'by the strong hand,' summarily: cp. 'ubi manu agitur,' G. 36, 1, 'ac . . . agens' is coupled closely with 'obtusior.'

non exerceat, 'does not bring into play.' A. explains Tacitus as meaning to say that because such legal subtlety is not called out in military men, the belief arises that they do not possess it.

4. **naturali prudentia**, 'with native good sense,' either modal abl. or abl. of quality.

togatos, 'civilians'; so in contrast to soldiers in Sall. Jug. 21, 2; Liv. 3. 10, 13; 22. 38, 9, &c. Aquitania had no military force; so the duties of the legatus would be judicial and administrative only.

5. **facile iusteque agebat**, 'dealt readily and equitably': Seneca speaks (Ep. 52, 6) of 'ingenia facilia et expedita,' and Pliny (Ep. 2. 13, 7) of 'ingenium facile, eruditum in causis agendis.' 'Agere' is often so used with adverbs.

iam vero, 'furthermore'; so used in transitions, sometimes with emphatic force: cp. c. 21, 2; G. 14, 2; H. 1. 2, 4, and some five places in Dial.; so also 'iam primum' (A. 4. 6, 2) and 'iam.'

curarum remissionumque, 'of business and recreation': cp. 'non . . . modo curas sed remissiones,' Dial. 28, 6.

6. **ubi . . . poscerent.** This subjunctive of repeated action, with 'ubi,' 'quoties,' &c., very frequent in Hist. and Ann. (see A. i. Introd. p. 58, § 52; Dr. S. u. S. § 165), and adopted chiefly from Livy, is probably found here alone in the minor works. Cp. the indicative in c. 20, 2.

conventus ac iudicia. Possibly, as Peter notes, there might be 'iudicia' at other times, or perhaps the words are synonymous; the 'conventus' being the gatherings of provincials at appointed places where the governor administered justice on circuit: for their organization see Prof. Wilkins in D. of Ant. s. v.

7. **severus, et saepius misericors.** There do not appear to be very strong grounds for treating the latter words as a gloss. We may take the whole sentence as saying that in all judicial business he was 'serious and earnest, strict and yet often merciful,' i. e. tempering strictness with compassion. It seems better thus to take 'et' as 'et tamen' (see on c. 8, 3), than (with A.) to supply a positive (as 'saepe' or 'aliquando') with 'severus,' which is hardly the construction of the passages cited by him (A. 12. 7, 6; 46, 4).

ubi officio satisfactum, 'when his duty was discharged.'

8. **nulla . . . persona**, 'no official mask was kept up,' he could lay aside

4 tiam et avaritiam exuerat. nec illi, quod est rarissimum, aut facilitas auctoritatem aut severitas amorem deminuit. integritatem atque abstinentiam in tanto viro referre iniuria virtutum
5 fuerit. ne famam quidem, cui saepe etiam boni indulgent, ostentanda virtute aut per artem quaesivit: procul ab aemulatione adversus collegas, procul a contentione adversus procuratores et vincere inglorium et atteri sordidum arbitra-

1. [et avaritiam] Heraeus, amaritiam (or -em) Bährens. 2. facultas Δ. diminuit: text L. 4. etiam saepe Δ P. 5. ostentandam: text R, ostentando virtutem Bosius. 6. contentionem: text P.

rank and be sociable. Gudeman (with Clemm) would retain the accusative of the MSS. as a very bold ellipse of 'egit' (cp. c. 19, 2, and many other passages).

tristitiam ... exuerat. These words have been the subject of much discussion, not only among the various editors of the treatise, but also by Nipperdey (Rh. Mus. xviii. 1863, pp. 354–360), Clemm (de brevil. T. pp. 50–52), Bährens (Misc. Crit. p. 133), Maxa (p. 51, foll.), and others. On the whole, the balance of argument is strongly against their genuineness. If they are retained, the contrast between times of business and relaxation is abruptly dropped, to be resumed in 'nec illi . . . deminuit,' and his freedom at all times from certain vices is parenthetically noted. Again, the 'avaritia' which he receives credit for having 'thrown off' has to be distinguished with difficulty from the opposite vice to 'integritas' and 'abstinentia,' of which it would be an insult to conceive him capable; and 'exuerat' must be taken to contain no allusion to 'personam,' but to mean that he had completely banished from his character the vices inherent in most Roman governors, as Agrippina is said 'exuisse' (A. 6. 25, 3) the prevalent sins of women. It thus seems very probable that the whole sentence is the gloss of some commentator who wished to explain the meaning of 'nulla ultra potestatis persona.'

2. **facilitas**, here apparently his good nature in private life (cp. A. 2. 65, 3; 11. 22, 10, &c.), as contrasted with his strictness ('severitas') in official duties. The one did not make him less respected, nor the other less beloved.

integritatem atque abstinentiam, 'incorruptibility and purity.' To mention his freedom from mean vices would be to lower his virtues. Velleius (2. 45, 5) speaks thus of Cato as one 'cuius integritatem laudari nefas est.'

4. **cui . . . indulgent**: cp. 'etiam sapientibus cupido gloriae novissima exuitur' (H. 4. 6, 1), and the propensity of Thrasea (A. 14. 49, 5, &c.). C. and B. aptly compare Milton's sentiment in Lycidas (70), 'Fame . . . that last infirmity of noble mind.'

5. **ostentanda virtute.** The use of a gerundive abl. instead of the gerund to express instrument is frequent with plural nouns, and somewhat more common with fem. (e.g. H. 4. 26, 3) than with masc. or neut. sing.: see A. 6. 23, 4, and note.

per artem, 'by intrigue,' such as governors often used to procure addresses of thanks from subjects: see A. 15. 20–21.

6. **collegas**, governors of neighbouring provinces; so in H. 1. 10, 4. Such rivalries are often mentioned; e.g. A. 3. 43, 4; 13. 53, 4; H. 2. 5, 3, &c.

7. **procuratores.** Imperial procurators charged with collecting sums due to the 'fiscus' existed in all provinces: in Caesarian provinces governed by legati, there was also a chief procurator who had the whole charge of collection of revenue, and answered to the quaestor of a senatorial province. These officers had received a more independent position and jurisdiction from the time of Claudius (see c. 15, 2; A. 12. 60, and notes), and were frequently hostile to the governor and a check upon him (cp. A. 14. 38, 4), so that Galba was powerless in Spain to curb their rapacity (Plut. Galb. 4). The plural here may refer also to the lower officers, or to successive procurators, or may be generic, or

Tacitus uses famam here (1) first as the love of fame (to which even noble minds are indulgent) and (2) as "fame" itself - with quaesivit - there is a sort of zeugma in the word.

batur. minus triennium in ea legatione detentus ac statim ad 6 spem consulatus revocatus est, comitante opinione Britanniam ei provinciam dari, nullis in hoc suis sermonibus, sed quia par videbatur. haud semper errat fama; aliquando et elegit. 7 consul egregiae tum spei filiam iuveni mihi despondit ac post consulatum collocavit, et statim Britanniae praepositus est, adiecto pontificatus sacerdotio.

1. [ac statim] Peerlkamp. gratae Γ^{m}, grate Δ, text P. 4. aut semper erat Δ. iam R, iam tum Ritt. 5. graeciae Γ, et post Δ.

rhetorical. Urlichs shows (p. 23) that sometimes the 'tres Galliae' had only one procurator.

atteri sordidum, 'ignominious to lose dignity,' to have his authority weakened by their contumacy (sc. 'vinci eoque atteri).' 'Attero' is more generally used of loss of property: cp. G. 29, 2; H. 1. 10, 2, &c.

1. **minus triennium.** He probably returned soon after his designation, in Jan. A. D. 77, to the consulship, which he held in some part of that year that cannot be fixed. Caesarian provinces were not held for a fixed term, but usually for from three to five years (Dio, 52. 23, 2).

statim, probably here to be taken, with adjectival force (cp. c. 10, 2, and note), as qualifying 'spem.' The expectation of the consulship, held out to him in his appointment (§ 1) had now become immediate. Maxa inclines to agree with those who think the word repeated from below (§ 7).

3. **dari**, i. e. was virtually already given (cp. 'abire,' A. 2. 34, 1): the consulship was but a stepping-stone to it.

nullis, &c., 'not that he ever talked of it': 'in hoc' = εἰς τοῦτο, as often in Hor., &c. Such a concise abl. abs. (cp. c. 10, 2, &c.), would in Greek contain or imply the participle of εἰμί: cp. A. i. introd. p. 49, § 31.

par, taken by A. as neut., but perhaps better of Agricola: cp. 'par negotiis' (A. 6. 39, 3, &c.), 'par oneri' (A. 6. 28, 7), &c. Britain was then the most important military command, as the other chief armies were inactive.

4. **elegit**, possibly an archaic form of the present, in which case the sentence is an iambic line, and might be taken (with Gudeman) as a quotation, though probably in that case there would have been some words introducing it. The aoristic perf. would make equally good sense, and would scan as a scazon. Rumour is often said 'destinare aliquem' (H. 1. 12, 4, &c.), here to have sometimes led to a right choice.

5. **egregiae tum spei**, 'even then of excellent promise': the reading is supported by such expressions as 'egregiae famae' (A. 12. 42, 2, &c.), and 'spes' is often so used in Verg., &c. She would be then about thirteen years old (cp. c. 6, 3, and note), and marriage of girls at the age of twelve was not unusual. See Dio, 54. 16, 7; C. I. L. ix. 1817; and many instances collected in Friedländer, Sitteng. i. p. 506, foll. An interesting letter of Pliny (5. 16) speaks of the mature qualities of a girl who had died before marriage in her fourteenth year.

iuveni mihi: he was probably about twenty-five years old. See Introd. p. 6.

6. **statim**, perhaps immediately after the marriage of his daughter, not immediately after his consulship. On the time of his going to Britain see on c. 18, 1.

7. **sacerdotio**, added (as A. points out) to distinguish it from civil magistracies. The pontiffs, and members of the other great priesthoods, were formally chosen by the senate (representing the old comitia) from a list furnished by the college; but candidates were in fact usually 'commended' by the princeps. See A. 3. 19, 1, and note; Staatsr. ii. 1110. Urlichs notes (p. 25) that the pontificate and augurship were not often given to persons below consular rank.

x but ? if their contumacy did impair his authority how did he feel it ignominious to lose authority? he lost authority, whether he felt it ignominious or not. Prob: (2) rather Tacitus means "he felt it contemptible to let himself feel sore about it" or (3) he felt it contemptible to lose his dignity – his self control i.e. to show his soreness

10. Britanniae situm populosque multis scriptoribus memoratos non in comparationem curae ingeniive referam, sed
quia tum primum perdomita est: ita quae priores nondum
2 comperta eloquentia percoluere, rerum fide tradentur. Britannia, insularum quas Romana notitia complectitur maxima,
spatio ac caelo in orientem Germaniae, in occidentem Hispaniae obtenditur, Gallis in meridiem etiam inspicitur;
septentrionalia eius, nullis contra terris, vasto atque aperto
3 mari pulsantur. formam totius Britanniae Livius veterum,
Fabius Rusticus recentium eloquentissimi auctores oblongae

3. itaque quae P. 7. et: etiam P. 9. T. Livius Ritt., cp. A. 4. 34, 4.

1. **situm populosque,** 'the geography and ethnology': cp. 'situs gentium,' A. 4. 33, 3; 'Africae situm,' Sall. Jug. 17, 1 (a passage evidently followed by Tacitus in this description: see Introd. p. 16).

multis scriptoribus, dat. of agent: cp. c. 2, 1, and note, and the same expression in A. 1. 1, 4. On the Greek and Roman earlier writers on this subject see Introd. p. 23.

2. **in,** 'with a view to': cp. c. 5, 2, &c.

curae, 'research,' 'study,' so contrasted with 'ingenium' in Dial. 16, 1, with 'impetus' in A. 4. 61, 2.

3. **tum primum** (cp. A. 2. 27, 1) **perdomita**; so in H. 1. 2, 3, 'perdomita Britannia et statim missa.'

4. **percoluere,** &c., 'where my predecessors have adorned guess work with eloquence.' The verb has nowhere else precisely this meaning, but is used of honouring persons (H. 2. 82, 2; A. 4. 68, 1), and of putting the finish on a work ('inchoata percolui,' Plin. Ep. 5. 6, 41).

rerum fide, 'with truth of facts': cp. 'verba sine fide rerum,' Liv. 33. 34, 2.

5. **complectitur**: cp. c. 46, 3; and 'scientia complecti,' A. 3. 69, 4.

6. **spatio ac caelo,** 'as regards its extent and clime' (cp. 'positio caeli,' c. 11, 2). The latter term defines the former, meaning that the space over which it extends, lies under the same tract of sky (i.e. within nearly the same parallels of latitude) as these countries.

Germaniae. This began at the mouth of the Rhine, opposite to which Strabo (4. 5, 1, 199) places Cantium, and extended to and included Scandinavia.

Hispaniae. Ancient geographers, as Strabo (3. 1, 3, 137), made the Pyrenees run due north and south, and the Spanish coast from thence run up northward, so as to come round to the west of Britain: see c. 11, 2, and the map at the end of this volume.

7. **obtenditur,** 'faces': this geographical sense seems found only here and in G. 35, 1.

inspicitur, 'is within sight of.' Tacitus no doubt thought that the two countries were parted all along by a narrow channel: cp. c. 11, 2. Strabo (2. 5, 28, 128) speaks of Britain as παράλληλος πᾶσα πάσῃ to Gaul. See map.

8. **nullis contra terris,** 'there being no land opposite': for the abl. abs. cp. c. 9, 6; for the adjectival use of 'contra,' cp. 'in vicem' (c. 24, 1), 'ultra' (c. 25, 1), 'comminus' (G. 8, 1), 'iuxta,' H. 3. 26, 3, 'palam,' A. 11. 22, 1; A. i. Introd. p. 62, § 66; Dr. Synt. u. Stil, § 23.

9. **Livius,** nowhere else cited by Tacitus as an authority, but praised in the speech put into the mouth of Cordus (A. 4. 34, 4). The description would have come in Book 105, where he speaks of Caesar's expedition. For the use of a single co-ordinate with a double name, cp. 'Lucio Sulla . . . Cinna' (H. 3. 83, 3).

10. **Fabius Rusticus**: see A. i. Introd. p. 16. He is only cited by Tacitus during the rule of Nero; and

scutulae vel bipenni adsimulavere. et est ea facies citra 4 Caledoniam, unde et in universum fama; sed transgressis inmensum et enorme spatium procurrentium extremo iam

1. scupulae Δ. assimilauere Γ, adsimilauere Δ. 2. et uniuersum Γ, et universis Γ[m], text Δ, et (ea J. F. Gronovius) in universam Schele, Halm, et universae Bährens. est transgressis, sed : est transgressa, sed R, Halm, text Doed. and Schömann. 3. inorme : enorme R.

some think that this description may belong to his narrative of the rising of Boudicca, but it is more probable that he wrote also of the time of Claudius. He was a friend of Seneca, and probably lived on to the time of Trajan.

eloquentissimi. He perhaps selects them as the most popular and best known authors, who 'nondum comperta eloquentia percoluere' (§ 1). Caesar, whom he cites as 'summus auctorum' elsewhere (G. 28, 1), may have appeared to him to be superseded, as regards Britain, by later knowledge.

oblongae scutulae vel bipenni. These comparisons seem to belong to Livy and Rusticus respectively, and may embody different ideas; but 'vel' would imply that the difference was not essential, and 'ea figura' below seems to apply to either. The 'bipennis' is strictly the double-headed axe (see D. of Ant. s. v.), and, supposing the heads alone to be taken account of, would somewhat resemble two triangles united at their apices. This would be in itself an intelligible representation of Britain north and south of the Caledonian isthmus, if we could suppose that the isthmus was known when the comparison was made; but such a 'bipennis' is widely different from a 'scutula.' This term (which has cognates in 'scutra' and 'scutella') is used of a kind of dish, of a figure in tessellated pavements, of a pattern in checkered clothing, &c., and although its form is nowhere clearly indicated, is taken generally to be a four-sided figure, either rectangular or rhomboidal, and is certainly here qualified by 'oblongae' (which is wholly ignored in W.'s representation of it). This might perhaps only mean 'rectilineal four-sided,' and a trapezium might be intended (see C. and B.'s note). It is possible that 'bipennis' is used loosely of a simple axe-head, and we should thus get a figure not very different from the triangular form assigned to Britain by Caesar and others (Introd. p. 23).

1. **adsimulavere,** 'have compared': cp. A. 1. 28, 2; 15. 39, 3.

et est, &c. If the 'bipennis' were taken strictly, 'ea figura' must apply to it alone, and the meaning would be that Britain below Caledonia (i.e. below the line from Clyde to Forth) does resemble one half of the double axe, but the northern region does not resemble the other half. Or if 'ea figura' is taken to apply to either comparison, it would mean that the conception of a triangular or trapezoidal figure (see note above) is true 'citra Caledoniam,' whence the report in general (i.e. the reported general description). 'In universum' has the force of 'universe' in c. 11, 3; G. 5, 3 (where see note), &c., and need not be altered to 'universam.' 'Est,' after 'fama,' is probably, as Wölfflin thinks, a corruption of 'set,' which latter may at some time have been written in the margin as a correction, and thence in a wrong place in the text.

2. **sed transgressis,** 'but when you have crossed the border' (into Caledonia: cp. 'citra' above); dat. of point of view, like 'aestimanti' (c. 11, 3), 'subeuntibus' (H. 3. 71, 2), &c.: cp. Madvig, Gr. 241, obs. 6. This seems the best reading of this greatly vexed passage, on which much has been written by commentators, also by Madvig, Wölfflin, Bährens, Maxa, &c. On the substitution of 'sed' for 'est' see the note above. Many have adopted the alternative of reading 'fama est transgressa'; but this could not well mean anything else than that the report had spread across from Britain to the continent.

3. **inmensum,** &c. Two sentences are combined: (1) 'inmensum . . . terrarum spatium est' (2) 'idque in cuneum tenuatur'; 'a huge and shapeless (cp. A. 15. 38, 4) tract runs on from the very

5 litore terrarum velut in cuneum tenuatur. hanc oram novis-
simi maris tunc primum Romana classis circumvecta insulam
esse Britanniam adfirmavit, ac simul incognitas ad id tempus
6 insulas, quas Orcadas vocant, invenit domuitque. dispecta
est et Thyle, quia hactenus iussum: et hiems adpetebat. sed
mare pigrum et grave remigantibus perhibent ne ventis

4. despecta Δ. 5. thyle Γ, Tyle Δ, Thule Ernesti. sed hactenus . . . adpetebat. Mare W., sed omissa quia hactenus . . . adpetebat. Mare Urlichs.

extremity of the coast (i. e. from the isthmus where the two coasts seem to be coming to a point) and narrows (at the extreme north) as it were into a wedge.' We have here the configuration of Caledonia as it was supposed to have been ascertained by the circumnavigation, and such a projection might be that of Aberdeenshire or Caithness. Ptolemy, the next describer of the country, gives far more detail, but supposed the whole west coast north of the Clyde to face north, the north coast to face east, and the east coast, as far as the Forth, to face south. Whether this was Agricola's view we cannot tell.

1. **novissimi**, 'the remotest': cp. A. 2. 24, 1; H. 5. 2, 2. On the circumnavigation cp. c. 38, 5.

3. **adfirmavit**, 'established the fact' (cp. A. 14. 22, 6; H. 4. 73, 1): on the previous knowledge of it cp. Introd. p. 23.

incognitas, 'unexplored'; they were not wholly unknown (see Introd. l. l.).

4. **domuitque**. The fleet must have received some formal submission, so that Juv. (2, 160) speaks of the islands as 'modo captas.'

dispecta, 'was seen at a distance, and no more.' The context seems to show sufficiently that this is meant, though it would be one of the instances in which clearness is sacrificed to conciseness, or which might be cleared up in speaking by means of emphasis on 'dispecta.'

5. **Thyle** (or Thule), first mentioned by Pytheas, whose account is much mixed with legend: see Strab. 2. 4, 1, 104; 5, 8, 114; 4. 5, 5, 201, &c. What country, six days sail north of Britain (Plin. N. H. 2. 75, 77, 187), he may have meant by it has been much disputed (see Elton, p. 67, foll., and Dyer in D. of Geog.); that here seen by the Romans was probably Mainland in Shetland.

hactenus, sc. 'progredi'; 'their orders went no further': cp. 'hactenus . . . voluerat,' A. 12. 42, 5, and note there.

adpetebat, 'was approaching'; so in H. 2. 19, 1; A. 4. 51, 4; Caes., Liv., &c.

sed, to be taken, with A., as marking the return from the account of the Roman voyage to the descriptive part: the subject of 'perhibent' is probably not the Roman explorers, but general rumour.

6. **pigrum**, 'sluggish and heavy' (i.e. 'the sea is sluggish, and is not,' &c.). In G. 45, 1, Tacitus gives a similar account of the sea in the far north beyond Scandinavia. It is possible that he is here merely transferring to the sea north of the Orkneys this same general description, founded on vague reports of the Arctic Ocean; or may be endeavouring to localize and reduce to credible form the coagulate of sea, land, and air with which Pytheas surrounded his Thule (Strab. 2. 4, 1, 104), the 'mare concretum' of Plin. N. H. 4. 16, 30, 104, which was perhaps spongy ice (see Elton, p. 73). It is however also probable that what is here said may represent some real knowledge, observed or gathered by the Roman fleet, respecting the contrary tides and currents off the north-east of Scotland, against which even sailing ships can often make no way (see Elton, p. 73, n. 4), and the belt of calm and fog surrounding the south of Shetland, by which all progress is often brought to a standstill for days. Müllenhoff (Altertumskunde, i. p. 388) refers to Hibbert, Description of Shetland (Edinb. 1822), p. 239.

ne ventis quidem; i. e. still less by

quidem perinde attolli, credo quod rariores terrae montesque,
causa ac materia tempestatum, et profunda moles continui
maris tardius impellitur. naturam Oceani atque aestus neque 7
quaerere huius operis est, ac multi rettulere: unum addiderim,
nusquam latius dominari mare, multum fluminum huc atque
illuc ferre, nec litore tenus adcrescere aut resorberi, sed
influere penitus atque ambire, et iugis etiam ac montibus
inseri velut in suo.

11. Ceterum Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint,
indigenae an advecti, ut inter barbaros parum compertum.
habitus corporum varii atque ex eo argumenta. namque ruti- 2
lae Caledoniam habitantium comae, magni artus Germanicam

1. proinde: text Grotius. 5. damnari: text P, with Γ^{m}. 12. Calydoniam (in c. 10 Caled., in c. 25, 27, 31 Calid.) Γ, Caledomā (in c. 10, 31, Caledoniam, in c. 25, 27 Calid.) Δ. arcus germanam Δ.

oars. Tacitus similarly describes the Dead Sea in H. 5. 6, 5.

1. **perinde**, 'as much as other seas': the expression is so used in several places where the comparison is left to be supplied (see G. 5, 3; A. 2. 88, 4, and notes), so that it comes to mean 'less than would be expected.' The correction from 'proinde' is supported by the general usage of Tacitus: see G. G. Lex.

2. **causa**, &c. Seneca (Nat. Qu. 5. 13, 1) ascribes whirlwinds to the resistance offered by high ground to the natural course of the wind, which would otherwise expend itself.

3. **tardius impellitur**, apparently argued from the analogy of heavy solid bodies.

neque . . . ac. Dr. notes this combination as only found in Suet. Vesp. 12 (his Mart. 11. 32, 4 is hardly parallel).

5. **fluminum**, 'currents.'

huc atque illuc; so in H. 1. 85, 6, and in Cic. and Liv., for the more common 'huc illuc,' 'huc et illuc.' 'Ferre' is best taken absolutely, 'set in various directions' (cp. A. 2. 23, 4). Some, as Peter, make 'mare' the subject and 'multum fluminum' an accusative depending on 'ferre.'

6. **nec litore**, &c., 'nor does the flow and ebb confine itself to the shore, but penetrates and works round inland, and forces its way among highlands and mountains, as if within its own domain.' This description, drawn from Agricola's experience of the friths, is applied to Britain generally.

9. **Ceterum**, returning to the chief subject after a digression: cp. c. 25, 1; G. 3, 3, &c. The following words closely resemble Sall. Jug. 17, 7. Some would insert before this the descriptive part in c. 12, 3–7: see note there.

10. **indigenae an advecti.** A similar question is raised in G. 2.

ut = 'ut fieri solet,' 'as usually': cp. c. 18, 5; G. 2, 4; 22, 1; A. 1. 65, 4, &c.

11. **habitus corporum**, here 'the types,' as again below (§ 2) and in G. 4, 2; 46, 1: used of the physique of individuals in c. 44, 2; A. 4. 57, 3, &c.

ex eo, 'from that difference'; cp. H. 5. 2, 2: such a sense as that of 'orta sunt' is supplied, as in c. 21, 3.

rutilae . . . comae, &c. Cp. G. 4, 2: 'truces et caerulei oculi, rutilae comae, magna corpora.' On this account of the Caledonian tribes see Introd. p. 26, foll.

12. **habitantium**, substantival, 'of the inhabitants of': the usage follows that of the Greek participle with article. Cp. 'trucidantium,' 'exturbantium' (A. 2. 2, 4). The active use of 'habitare' is mostly poetical.

originem adseverant; Silurum colorati vultus, torti plerum-
que crines et posita contra Hispania Hiberos veteres traiecisse
easque sedes occupasse fidem faciunt; proximi Gallis et
similes sunt, seu durante originis vi, seu procurrentibus in
3 diversa terris positio caeli corporibus habitum dedit. in uni-
versum tamen aestimanti Gallos vicinam insulam occupasse
4 credibile est. eorum sacra deprehendas, superstitionum

2. hispaniam: text Mur. Hiberos ('a' in later hand) Γ, Iberas Δ. 3. hītasse Γ, occupasse Γ^m Δ. 4. usu: vi R. 5. habitum eundem dedit Bährens. 6. aestimati Γ, text Δ R. 7. persuasione: persuasionem Ritt., text Glück in Walch, ac . . . persuasiones (or -em) Schömann, pari sup. persuasione Heraeus, [sup. pers.] Nipp.

1. **adseverant.** With this verb and 'fidem faciunt,' the fact mentioned in the sentence is taken as subject: see A. 1. 33, 6; 36, 2; 3. 9, 3; H. 2. 82, 5, &c.

Silurum. These lived in South Wales and Monmouthshire: see A. 12. 32, 4, &c. On the view here taken of their affinities see Introd. l. l. They were determined enemies of Rome till the time of Frontinus (c. 17, 3).

colorati, 'swarthy,' sunburnt: cp. Quint. 5. 10, 81, 'sol colorat: non utique, qui est coloratus, a sole est': so used of Indians (Verg. G. 4, 293), Seres (Ov. Am. 1. 14, 6), Etruscans (Mart. 10. 68, 3). Some wrongly take it here to mean 'picti.' The asyndeton 'torti crines' ('curly locks') is part of the same argument; 'et' adds another from geography.

2. **posita contra.** On this geographical view see c. 10, 2. The manuscript 'Hispaniam' arose from taking 'contra' as a preposition.

Hiberos. On this people see Introd. p. 27. The forms Hiberi, Hiberes, are both recognized, as also Iberi, Iberes.

3. **eas,** explained by the context, as 'ea provincia' in A. 4. 56, 3.

proximi, &c., 'those nearest to the Gauls are also like them.' Caesar had spoken thus of the Cantian peoples (B. G. 5. 14, 1). Tacitus would say that, while the main part of the island is peopled by Gauls, their more remote tribes resemble rather what the Gauls once were than what they are.

4. **seu,** &c.: in such constructions elsewhere (A. 2. 21, 2; 13. 15, 6; H. 1. 18, 2) the more probable alternative is put without 'seu,' the second added as an afterthought, 'or perhaps,' &c. This sense of 'durare' (cp. c. 44, 5, &c.) is archaic, poetical, and post-classical.

procurrentibus, &c., as Gaul extends itself northward and Britain southward (and thus stretch along face to face: see on c. 10, 2): 'diversus' has often the force of 'opposite,' as in c. 23, 2; A. 2. 17, 4; 6. 14, 2; 15. 15, 1, &c.; and Maxa notes that such oppositeness implies proximity, and compares 'ex diverso prope coeuntibus,' Mela 1, 1.

5. **positio caeli,** i.e. the being under the same sky and climate.

habitum. We should expect 'eundem' (cp. G. 4, 2); but 'suum' can be supplied from the sense.

in universum . . . aestimanti, 'to form a general judgement' (so in G. 6, 4, where see note). Such a dative of the person judging, thinking, &c., is a particular form of the Greek so-called dative absolute (cp. c. 10, 4) used by Caesar, and often by Livy. See Dr. S. u. S. § 50; Roby, 1148. 'Tamen' implies that the physical resemblance above noted might not be thought conclusive.

7. **sacra,** 'you would find (among the Britons) their (the Gaulish) rites.' On the probable reference to Druidism, and on the British and Gaulish religions generally, see references in Introd. p. 33.

superstitionum persuasiones, 'their religious beliefs'; an asyndeton like 'comae,' 'artus,' 'vultus,' 'crines'

persuasiones; sermo haud multum diversus, in deposcendis periculis eadem audacia et, ubi advenere, in detrectandis eadem formido. plus tamen ferociae Britanni praeferunt, ut quos nondum longa pax emollierit. nam Gallos quoque in bellis floruisse accepimus; mox segnitia cum otio intravit, amissa virtute pariter ac libertate. quod Britannorum olim victis evenit: ceteri manent quales Galli fuerunt.

12. In pedite robur; quaedam nationes et curru proeliantur. honestior auriga, clientes propugnant. olim regibus parebant,

2. detractandis ea f. Δ. 8. impedite Δ.

above. It seems impossible to get a satisfactory meaning from the manuscript text (retained by Halm and others), which would imply that rites are inferred from beliefs, instead of the reverse. The 's' would easily have dropped out before 'sermo.' Prof. Gudeman notes that Tacitus does not elsewhere interpose a verb between the members of such an asyndeton; hence he supports the insertion of 'ac,' dropped out after 'as.' For the meaning of 'persuasio' cp. G. 45, 1; H. 5. 5, 5. 'Superstitio,' contrasted with 'religiones' in H. 5. 13, 1, is used often of barbarian religions (G. 39, 4; 43, 5, &c.), and thus of Judaism (H. 5. 8, 2, &c.) and Christianity (A. 15. 44, 4, and perhaps 13. 32, 3).

1. **sermo**, &c. Tacitus appears to distinguish between the language of Britain and that of Gaul, but not between that of any one part of Britain and another: see Introd. pp. 30, 32.

in deposcendis, &c. Caesar (B. G. 3. 19, 6) and Livy (10. 28, 4) similarly describe the courage of the Gauls.

2. **ubi advenere**: cp. 'ubi periculum advenit.' Sall. Cat. 23, 6.

3. **praeferunt**, 'display': cp. A. 4. 75, 2; 16. 18, 2, &c.

5. **accepimus.** The reference is probably to Caesar B. G. 6. 24, 1, cited in G. 28, 1. On their subsequent unwarlike character cp. A. 3. 46, 2–4; 11. 18, 1, &c.

6. **pariter**, 'at the same time' (ἅμα): cp. A. 6. 18, 1; 13. 37, 2, &c.

olim, in the time of Claudius, taken closely with 'victis.'

7. **ceteri**, such for instance as the Brigantes, and those of the north and west generally.

8. **In pedite robur.** The same is said of the Germans (G. 6, 4) and of the Chatti in particular (G. 30, 3). That the Britons had also cavalry is seen from Caes. B. G. 4. 24, 1; 32, 5, &c.

nationes, here, as in G. 2, 5, &c., of separate tribes; in G. l. l. opposed to 'gens,' but in c. 22, 1 of this treatise interchanged with it.

et curru, 'also with the chariot.' These warriors are the 'covinnarii' of c. 35, 3, the 'essedarii' of Caesar, who describes their skill and tactics (4. 33). That these chariots were scythed is affirmed in Mela, 3. 6, 52 ('dimicant . . . et curribus Gallice armatis, covinnos vocant, quorum falcatis axibus utuntur'), and in Sil. It. 17, 417 ('incola Thules . . . falcifero . . . covino'), but the silence of Caesar and Tacitus, who describe battles in which chariots take part, is against the supposition that they were generally such. The use of chariots at all, though ascribed to Gauls by other writers, is noticed by Caesar as a peculiarity of British warfare.

9. **honestior auriga**, &c. The general use of 'propugnator' of one fighting from a place of vantage (as a ship, wall, &c.) seems to show that here the driver is opposed to those who fight from the chariot, and that the meaning is that (unlike the rule in Homer, &c.) the former is the higher, the latter the lower in rank. Caesar (l. l.) describes the chariots as carrying the fighters among the enemy's horse, and then, while they dismount and fight, taking position in rear to rescue them if pressed. 'Clientes' is used as of those of a Gaulish (Caes. B. G. 1. 4, 2, &c.)

The latter is again ambiguous: what does Tacitus mean by pro-pugnant? is it as in the Loeb translation (my own) - The driver has the place of honour the combatants are mere retainers" if so the transl. is itself as ambiguous as Tacitus himself [illegible] are the combatants? the combatants in the chariot [illegible] Caesar's words support either

2 nunc per principes factionibus et studiis distrahuntur. nec aliud adversus validissimas gentis pro nobis utilius quam quod in commune non consulunt. rarus duabus tribusve civitatibus ad propulsandum commune periculum conventus: ita singuli
3 pugnant, universi vincuntur. caelum crebris imbribus ac nebulis foedum; asperitas frigorum abest. dierum spatia

1. trahuntur: text Heinsius. 2. [utilius] W. 3. tribusque Γ, text Δ. 4. consensus L. ita dum P. 5. hymbribus Γ. 6. frigorum est Δ.

or German (A. 1. 57, 4) chief, but we do not know how far the same system obtained among the Britons.

olim. At Caesar's time there were four kings in Cantium (B. G. 5. 22, 1), and monarchy was evidently general (cp. Diod. 5. 21, 6), with instances of preeminent kings over several tribes, as Cassivelaunus (Caes. B. G. 5. 11, 9) and afterwards Cunobelinus. Dio describes them (60. 20, 1) as ἄλλοι ἄλλοις βασιλεῦσι προστεταγμένοι in the time of Claudius, and several names of kings, as the 'reguli' of the time of Tiberius (A. 2. 24, 5) or earlier, are preserved by their coinage. Some lived on as vassals of Rome: see Introd. p. 36.

1. **nunc,** i. e. at the time of Tacitus, no kings remained. 'Distrahuntur,' &c., is contrasted with 'parebant': 'they once lived in obedience under kings, but are now distracted by faction and partisanship between rival leaders.' The term 'principes' is that used of German chief magistrates (see G. Introd. p. 21); but we have no indication of their position or power, which may have answered to those of a Gallic 'vergobretus' (Caes. B. G. 1. 16, 4). The expression of Strabo (4. 5, 1, 200), δυναστεῖαι δ' εἰσὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς, might refer to these, but more probably to the kings.

factionibus et studiis, probably synonyms, perhaps a hendiadys. 'Studia' is the less strong word.

distrahuntur. Cp. A. 4. 40, 3; 12. 42, 2; H. 1. 77, 1, &c. Wölfflin (Phil. xxvi. 145–6) shows that with 'trahuntur' we should expect 'in factiones.' The simple verb could therefore hardly stand for the compound.

2. **pro nobis,** 'on our behalf': cp. 'pro republica honesta' (H. 1. 5, 4), 'pro se ipso' (H. 2. 65, 2), &c., and the opposition of 'pro' and 'adversum' in Sall. Jug. 88, 4. If 'utilius' were rejected as a gloss, the sentiment would be more strongly pessimistic, like that in G. 33, 2.

3. **in commune,** &c.: cp. 12. 5, 4, and 'in commune consultare' (H. 4. 67, 4), 'in medium consulere' (H. 2. 5, 3), &c.

duabus tribusve, 'two or (at most) three' (cp. c. 15, 5; 40, 4): the other reading would mean 'two and (even) three,' and would suggest more rather than less. See Dean Wickham on Hor. A. P. 358. 'Civitas' is used of tribes, as the Brigantes (c. 17, 2), Ordovices (c. 18, 2), &c., and often of Gaulish and German tribes.

4. **conventus,** 'agreement'; so 'ex conventu,' Cic. p. Caec. 8, 22.

singuli, &c., 'they fight in isolated bodies, and the whole are vanquished' (in detail).

the tribes fight individually & are conquered in the mass

5. **caelum,** &c. The strange interposition of this account of the climate and products between two passages treating of the character of the people, has led to the supposition of some error on the part of a transcriber, which it is thought might be corrected by inserting c. 12, 3–7 at the end either of c. 10 (see Wölfflin, Phil. xxvi. 144–145) or of c. 11 (Bährens). Granting the present arrangement to be faulty, it seems still very possible that it is due to Tacitus himself, and not incapable of explanation. The plan was probably intended generally to resemble that of the 'Germania,' where we have (1) geography (c. 1), (2) ethnology (c. 2–4), (3) climate and products (c. 5), (4) military matters (c. 6); but the mention of the ethnological affinity of Britons to Gauls led him to speak of the contrast in warlike qualities, whence the passage on their mode of fighting and the disunion which made them less formidable is interpolated out of its proper place.

6. **foedum,** 'gloomy': cp. 'foedum imbribus diem' (H. 1. 18, 1), 'nubes

... but not to fight there but to be carried into the thick of battle & then to dismount & fight on foot: i.e. these men were mounted infantry & not cavalry proper or chariot-fighters proper: there is nothing in the latter or very little (Furneaux ...

ultra nostri orbis mensuram ; nox clara et extrema Britanniae
parte brevis, ut finem atque initium lucis exiguo discrimine
internoscas. quod si nubes non officiant, aspici per noctem 4
solis fulgorem, nec occidere et exsurgere, sed transire adfir-
mant. scilicet extrema et plana terrarum humili umbra non
erigunt tenebras, infraque caelum et sidera nox cadit. solum 5
praeter oleam vitemque et cetera calidioribus terris oriri sueta

1. parte Britanniae Δ.

foedavere lumen' (Sall. Fr. inc. 104 D, 73 K, 15 G).

asperitas, &c. ; so Caesar says (B. G. 5. 12, 7), 'loca sunt temperatiora quam in Gallia, remissioribus frigoribus'; his comparison being, no doubt, that of southern Britain with northern Gaul. Strabo also (4. 5, 2, 200) speaks of the weather as rainy and misty rather than snowy. We should have expected Tacitus, in the light of his knowledge of the northern parts, to speak less generally.

dierum spatia, &c. Tacitus, like Juvenal (2, 16), speaks only of the long summer, not of the short winter days. Caesar (B. G. 5. 13, 3), Strabo (2. 1, 18, 75, quoting Hipparchus), and Pliny (N. H. 2. 75, 77, 186) have some information as to both : Caesar, when in Britain, had verified the greater length of the day by a clepsydra ; Pliny comes very near accuracy by giving the longest day as fourteen hours at Alexandria, fifteen in Italy, seventeen in Britain (which would be about a medium between London and the north of Scotland).

1. **nostri orbis**, 'our clime' : cp. G. 2, 1 ; Plin. N. H. 12. 12, 26, 45 ; also 'thalamos alieni concipis orbis' (Ov. M. 7, 22), and 'in alium orbem paras ire' (Curt. 9. 3, 8). 'Dierum' is omitted for conciseness : cp. c. 24. 2.

2. **ut . . . internoscas**, potential (cp. c. 22, 5), 'so that you would draw little distinction between evening and morning twilight' (the one passes into the other).

4. **occidere et exsurgere.** Peter seems right in keeping 'solis fulgorem' as subject (not supplying 'solem'). The actual sun is below the horizon, but only casts a low shadow. 'Et,' after 'nec' (cp. c. 1, 3) couples two parts of the same idea,' 'set, and then rise again' (cp. Dr. S. u. S. § 107). The phenomenon of a midnight sun is assigned with more correctness to the extreme north of Scandinavia in G. 45, 1.

transire, 'passes across the horizon.'

5. **scilicet**, &c. 'In fact the extreme and flatter borders of the earth, throwing a low shadow, do not raise the darkness high, and the night does not reach to the sky and stars.' The theory implied is that the earth is a disc surrounded by a belt of ocean (cp. G. 17. 2 ; 45, 1), that the night is a shadow from the sun beneath the earth (cp. Plin. N. H. 2. 10, 7, 47), and that at the limit of the earth the shadow cast is so low that the sky is unaffected by it, and therefore not hidden from the earth. It is difficult to suppose Tacitus ignorant of the spherical form of the earth, known to scientific Greeks from the fourth century B. C. and to such Romans as Cicero, Seneca, and Pliny : but his language does not seem able to be explained as merely rhetorical and popular, though 'erigunt' has a figurative subject (as in G. 27, 2 ; H. 5. 6, 4). He is perhaps followed by Eumenius, who says of Britain (Pan. 9), 'nullae sine aliqua luce noctes, dum illa litorum extrema planities non attollit umbras, noctisque metam caeli et siderum transit aspectus, ut sol ipse, qui nobis videtur occidere, ibi appareat praeterire.' Cp. also Jorn. Get. 3, 21, 'et quod nobis videtur sol ab imo surgere, illis (sc. Scandzam insulam incolentibus) per terrae marginem dicitur circuire.' 'Sidera' seems more specific than 'caelum' (cp. Gudeman on Dial. 16, 29) and the two are thus coupled in Liv. 24. 34, 2.

7. **praeter**, 'except' : cp. 'praeter fagum atque abietem,' Caes. B. G. 5. 12, 5.

patiens frugum, fecundum: tarde mitescunt, cito proveniunt; eademque utriusque rei causa, multus umor terrarum caelique.
6 fert Britannia aurum et argentum et alia metalla, pretium victoriae. gignit et Oceanus margarita, sed subfusca ac
7 liventia. quidam artem abesse legentibus arbitrantur; nam in rubro mari viva ac spirantia saxis avelli, in Britannia, prout expulsa sint, colligi: ego facilius crediderim naturam margaritis deesse quam nobis avaritiam.

1. pomorum patiens Ritt., arborum p. Doed., Eussner, frugum patiens, fecundum Gudeman. 2. terrarumque caelique Δ. 4. suffusa ac liuenta Δ.

oriri sueta, a phrase in Sall. Fr. Hist. 1, 9 D, 10 K, 11 G.

1. **patiens frugum, fecundum.** The asyndeton can well be taken as strengthening 'patiens' (cp. A. 2. 17, 5; 6. 38, 1, &c.); but 'frugum,' as Gudeman points out, would better come before the adjectives, and even thus it is only by some looseness of expression that the vine and the olive could be excepted from 'fruges'; and the analogy of G. 5, 1 ('terra . . . frugiferarum arborum inpatiens, pecorum fecunda'), also of Sall. Jug. 17, 5, favours the supposition that 'arborum' has dropped out here, though no explanation of its loss can be given. Γ has a stop before 'frugum,' which makes 'patiens' unmeaning.

3. **fert, &c.** Caesar says nothing of precious metals, and Cicero had heard that there were none in Britain (ad Fam. 7. 7, 1; cp. ad Att. 4. 16, 13); but Strabo speaks of gold, silver, and iron (4. 5, 2, 199), Caesar of tin found in the interior, and a little iron on the coasts (B. G. 5. 12, 5); and an account of the tin trade from Belerion to the island of Mictis is given in Diod. 5. 22, 1 (cp. also Plin. N. H. 4. 6, 30, 104). That lead was also worked by the Romans in the Mendips and in Flintshire is shown by the inscribed pigs, on which see Hübner in C. I. L. vii. p. 220. A few inscribed ingots of silver and bronze have been also found, but in Caesar's time all bronze was imported. Silver occurs with other metals, and gold has been found in Scotland, Wales, and Cornwall, and more abundantly in Wicklow (Dawkins, p. 416).

pretium victoriae. All metal works in provinces were taken as a source of revenue, and usually formed part of the emperor's 'fiscus': see Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. 259, foll.; Hirschfeld, Untersuchungen, 72 foll.

4. **gignit et**, i.e. the sea also adds to the revenue. The form 'margaritum' is found in Varro, and in late Latin. Suet. says (Jul. 47) that Caesar went to Britain 'spe margaritarum,' Mela (3. 6, 51) speaks of some British rivers as 'gemmas margaritasque generantia,' and mediaeval writers give exaggerated accounts (Elton, p. 225).

subfusca, &c. Pliny (N. H. 9. 35, 57, 116) calls the British pearls 'parvos et decolores,' instancing the breastplate dedicated by Caesar in the temple of Venus Genitrix, made of pearls professedly brought from thence

5. **artem**, i. e. the skill to dive for them. The whole subject of pearls is treated at length in Plin. N. H. 9. 35, 54, 106, foll.

6. **rubro mari**, the Persian Gulf, as in A. 2. 61, 2; 14. 25, 3; Plin. N. H. 6. 24, 28, 107; the Ἐρυθρὴ θάλασσα of Hdt. 1. 180, 2, &c.

saxis. The case here and in Verg. Aen. 2, 608, also in A. 1. 44, 6 ('avellerentur castris') is generally taken to be dat., but Verg. has 'complexu avolsus' (Aen. 4, 616), and such ablatives depending on the force of a prep. in composition are often found.

7. **expulsa**, 'cast on shore.'

naturam, 'quality' (cp. G. 45, 8); i. e. that of the best pearls. If, gathered alive, they would be as good as others, greed would have found a way to get

13. Ipsi Britanni dilectum ac tributa et iniuncta imperii
munera impigre obeunt, si iniuriae absint: has aegre tolerant,
iam domiti ut pareant, nondum ut serviant. igitur primus 2
omnium Romanorum divus Iulius cum exercitu Britanniam
ingressus, quamquam prospera pugna terruerit incolas ac litore
potitus sit, potest videri ostendisse posteris, non tradidisse.
mox bella civilia et in rem publicam versa principum arma, ac 3
longa oblivio Britanniae etiam in pace: consilium id divus
Augustus vocabat, Tiberius praeceptum. agitasse Gaium 4

2. subeunt Nipp. 8. iam in pace Δ. 9. praecipue Γ (text Γ^{m}), praeceptum .i. Δ, praecipue P, text Urs. and L.

them thus. 'Deesse' is taken with 'avaritiam' in a sense nearer to 'abesse.'

1. **Ipsi Britanni.** A. notes that these sentences describing the character of the Britons as subjects lead up to the account of their subjugation, and 'ipsi' is similarly used in G. 2, 1 in a transition from the country to the people. K. makes the transition here to be from the natural rewards of conquest to the payments by subjects.

2. **munera,** 'obligations' (i.e. requisitions, &c.) enjoined by the government (cp. 'omni publico munere solverentur' A. 12. 58, 1); distinct from 'munia imperii,' which would be 'functions of government' (cp. H. 1. 77, 1, &c.). On such requisitions see c. 15, 2–4; 19, 4; 32, 5.

obeunt, used elsewhere with 'munia' by Tacitus, and with 'munera' by Livy (2. 8, 4; 3. 6, 9), and sufficiently applicable by zeugma to the two more special terms to make correction needless.

si iniuriae absint. The subjunctive is best taken (with A.) as potential: cp. c. 31, 1, and 'quae, ni adsit modus, in exitium vertuntur' H. 3. 86, 3 (where see Heräus); also Dr. S. u. S. § 190.

3. **igitur,** here noting the beginning of a relation of the state of things already indicated by 'domiti': cp. c. 29, 2, A. 1. 31, 4; 12. 24, 2; 15. 72, 4, &c.

primus omnium, &c. Pompeius is so spoken of in relation to the Jews in H. 5. 9, 1.

6. **ostendisse,** 'to have pointed the attention of posterity to it, not handed it down as a possession.' This judgement of the result achieved by Caesar is correct. He had shown that Britain could be invaded, and that (as in Gaul) the disunion of its tribes could be turned to account, and he had done no more. But such expressions as 'litore potitus sit' suit his first futile expedition rather than his second, in which he crossed the Thames. The 'bis penetrata Britannia' of Vell. 2. 47, 1, errs equally on the other side, far more so Florus (3. 10, 18), who speaks of him as 'Britannos Caledonias secutus in silvas'; but on the whole, subsequent writers appear to depreciate his exploit (see A. ii. Introd. p. 128, n. 9).

7. **et,** carrying on the idea of 'bella civilia'; 'ac' adding another cause. 'Principum,' 'leading men,' as in Dial. 36, 4, &c.

8. **consilium,** 'a policy'; **praeceptum,** 'an injunction.' That Tiberius regarded the practice of Augustus in this light, is given as acknowledged by himself (A. 4. 37, 4; cp. also 1. 77, 4). Augustus had more than once professed an intention to invade Britain, but had really preferred to gain influence there by diplomacy (see Introd. p. 35, A. ii. Introd. pp. 127 foll.), and dissuaded his successors from extending the empire (A. 1. 11, 7). The supposed reference to Livy, as speaking of him as 'regressus a Britannia' (see Weissenborn on Liv. Epit. 135), is probably an error.

9. **agitasse,** sc. 'animo,' 'had formed plans': cp. H. 1. 39, 2; 78, 2, &c. The great army collected by Gaius in Gaul is stated (Suet. Cal. 46, Dio, 59.

Caesarem de intranda Britannia satis constat, ni velox ingenio mobili paenitentiae, et ingentes adversus Germaniam conatus frustra fuissent. divus Claudius auctor iterati operis, transvectis legionibus auxiliisque et adsumpto in partem rerum Vespasiano, quod initium venturae mox fortunae fuit: domitae gentes, capti reges et monstratus fatis Vespasianus.

1. ingenii, mobilis penitentiae Δ, text Γ, ingenio, mobilis paenitentia P, mobili paenitentia W. 3. autoritate (auct. Δ): auctor operis P, text W, auctor statim A, patrati, iterandi, tandem, tanti al. 5. fuit Domitiae gentis: text P.

25, 1) to have been marched to the coast as if to embark, and then to have been led back, after being told to pick up shells as spoils of the ocean; a lighthouse having been built in commemoration. For a possible explanation of his action see Introd. p. 35, n. 2.

1. **ni**, i.e. he had planned it, and would have executed it (cp. c. 4, 4; 37, 1; A. 2. 22, 3; A. i. Introd. p. 57, § 50), but for his own natural changeableness, and his previous failure against Germany.

velox . . . paenitentiae. Such a genitive expressing the thing in point of which a term is applied to a person, though nowhere else used with 'velox,' is found with many adjectives, as 'pervicax' (A. 4. 53, 1), 'procax' (A. 13. 46, 5), &c. The usage is especially poetical and Tacitean, but is also found in Sallust: see A. i. Introd. p. 51, § 33 e γ; Roby 1320. Here 'ingenio mobili' (cp. 'mobilitate ingenii' H. 1. 7, 2, &c.) is a causal abl. ('by natural flightiness swift to change'). 'Velox ingenio' would have rather a good sense, as in Quint. 6. 4, 8, &c. (see W.'s note).

3. **frustra fuissent**, 'had been frustrated' (cp. H. 1. 75, 2); a construction originating with Sall. (Cat. 20, 2, &c.) and used by Livy. The expedition into Germany, of which Tacitus speaks elsewhere still more severely (cp. 'Gaianarum expeditionum ludibrium' H. 4. 15, 3; 'ingentes Gai Caesaris minae in ludibrium versae' G. 37, 5), is described in a similar spirit by Suet. (Cal. 43, foll.), who speaks of a sham fight in which the emperor's German bodyguard represented the enemy, and of Gauls dressed up to resemble German prisoners. The same explanation may probably be given as that for the alleged project of invading Britain.

auctor iterati operis. This reading seems to give the best sense with the smallest change. Julius Caesar was the 'auctor' of invading Britain, Claudius the 'auctor iterandi': cp. 'iterare culpam' (H. 3. 11, 2), &c. 'Patrati' would apply more to the time of Agricola, when the island was supposed to be 'perdomita'; 'statim' ('immediately on his accession') would be hardly true.

4. **legionibus**, &c.; four legions and part of a fifth: see A. ii. Introd. p. 131. 'Transvectis' and 'adsumpto' are aoristic.

in partem rerum, 'to share the undertaking': for similar uses of 'in partem' cp. c. 25, 1, A. 1. 11, 2; 14. 33, 3. If this passage stood alone, we should suppose that Claudius had commanded the first invasion in person, with Vespasian as his chief of the staff, and that Plautius had been sent out afterwards to govern the province: whereas our only narrative, that of Dio (60. 19–22), makes Plautius command the invading force, and Vespasian only one (though the most distinguished) of the 'legati legionum,' while Claudius arrives later and stays only a few days, to take the credit of the capture of Camulodunum (see A. ii. Introd. pp. 134–137). But Tacitus elsewhere (H. 3. 44, 2) describes the position of Vespasian as others do, and may very probably in the Annals have agreed with the account preserved by Dio, and may here be speaking from imperfect knowledge, or loosely and rhetorically.

5. **fortunae.** He had been previously obscure; but his service in Britain advanced him to the consulship

14. Consularium primus Aulus Plautius praepositus ac subinde Ostorius Scapula, uterque bello egregius: redactaque paulatim in formam provinciae proxima pars Britanniae; addita insuper veteranorum colonia. quaedam civitates Cogi- 2

1. Plantius: text R. 4. Cogidunno Δ.

and 'triumphalia,' and led Nero afterwards to select him to deal with the Jewish rebellion; which position led to his designation as emperor. 'Fortuna' is used specially of the imperial rank (A. 6. 6, 3; 11. 12, 4, &c.), and of that of Vespasian in particular (c. 7, 4; H. 1. 10, 7; 3. 43, 1).

domitae gentes, capti reges. These asyndeta form one idea, distinct from 'et' (cp. c. 11, 2). Tacitus seems to speak here in the language of the triumphal arch of Claudius (see Insc. Or. 715; Wilm. 899 a; C. I. L. vi. 920; A. ii. Introd. p. 140, n. 9); which was not dedicated till 804, A. D. 51, and probably recorded the whole success down to that date, and appears to have mentioned the submission of eleven kings, some of whom are probably those with whom he made a treaty at Rome under the ancient formalities: cp. Suet. Cl. 25; Staatsr. i. 252, 6; iii. 654, 1. Caratacus and his family, taken in that year (A. 12. 35–38), are the only captive kings known to us.

6. **fatis,** best taken as abl.: cp. 'ostendunt terris hunc tantum fata' (Verg. Aen. 6, 869); also G. 31, 4; H. 1. 88, 1; 3. 73, 4. By his achievements here destiny made him conspicuous as the coming man; a more rhetorical repetition of the fact stated above ('quod initium,' &c.).

1. **Aulus Plautius** (Silvanus), the leader of the original expedition, who remained in Britain A.D. 43–47, and received an ovation (A. 13. 32, 3), an honour usually reserved, like the full triumph, for the imperial family (see note on c. 40, 1). His achievements, after the capture of Camulodunum, are not recorded: see A. ii. Introd. p. 132, foll. He had been cos. in 782, A. D. 29 (see Klein, Fasti) and legatus of Dalmatia (C. I. L. v. 698).

2. **subinde,** 'in succession' (A. 6. 2, 5); a word in Hor., Liv., &c.

Ostorius Scapula (Publius), legatus A. D. 47–52. His achievements, the chief of which was the defeat and capture of Caratacus, are related in A. 12. 31–39. He received 'triumphalia,' and died in the province.

3. **proxima pars,** apparently somewhat an understatement. On the probable extent of subject territory at the death of Ostorius see Introd. p. 36, and map.

4. **colonia,** that of Camulodunum (Colchester), colonized during the time of Ostorius: see A. 12. 32, 4, and note.

Cogidumno regi. Tacitus speaks as if he was still surviving in his own time or that of Agricola. The name is taken to be read in a famous inscription found at Chichester (Regni) and preserved at Goodwood (C. I. L. vii. 11); 'Neptuno et Minervae templum [pr]o salute do[mus] divinae [ex] auctoritate [Ti.] Claud. [Co]gidubni r(egis) lega[ti] Aug(usti) in Brit(annia), [colle]gium fabror(um) et qui in eo . . . d(e) s(uo) d(ant), donante aream [Clem]ente Pudentini fil(io).' Many difficulties have arisen in its explanation, especially the 'R' (a very questionable abbreviation of 'regis'), and the title (unknown among vassal princes) of 'legatus Augusti,' which, it has been suggested, may be honorary only. The person mentioned has been taken to be the king, or a son of the king, here spoken of by Tacitus; but the expression 'domus divina' is not elsewhere applied to the imperial family until a later date, and, as we have no continuous record of the legati of Britain after Agricola, it is not impossible that a descendant of Cogidumnus may have held that office at some later time. See Prosopographia Romana, s. v., where it is argued that the riddle of his identity is unsolved. The Celtic 'dumnos' or 'dubnos' means 'secret' or mysterious (Holder), and the two forms seem interchangeable. Cp. 'Dubnovellaunos' and 'Dumnovellaunus,' 'Dumnorix' and 'Dubnorex' (see Mommsen, 'Res Gestae Divi Aug.' p. 139).

dumno regi donatae (is ad nostram usque memoriam fidissimus mansit), vetere ac iam pridem recepta populi Romani consuetudine, ut haberet instrumenta servitutis et reges.
3 mox Didius Gallus parta a prioribus continuit, paucis admodum castellis in ulteriora promotis, per quae fama aucti officii quaereretur. Didium Veranius excepit, isque intra annum
4 extinctus est. Suetonius hinc Paulinus biennio prosperas res habuit, subactis nationibus firmatisque praesidiis; quorum

2. ut uetere . . . haberet : vetere . . . ut haberet R. 3. et regis Γ, regis Δ, et reges R. 5. aucti obsequii Madvig. 6. Q. Veranius, Ritt.

2. **vetere . . . consuetudine**; generally taken as modal abl.: cp. 'more . . . recepto' (A. 2. 85, 2), 'vetere . . . more' (H. 4. 61, 3); in which case 'ut . . . haberet' would depend on 'donatae'; but, by adopting the change of position of 'ut,' the abl. may be better taken as abs. containing the subject of 'haberet' ('it being the custom of the Romans to have'), which seems otherwise less easily supplied. In Liv. 44. 24, 2, the Romans are said 'regum viribus reges oppugnare.' Among the instances in old times were Massinissa, Attalus, Eumenes, Herod, &c. In G. 42, 2, Tacitus describes such vassal princes still existing among the Marcomani and Tudri.

3. **instrumenta**; so used of persons in A. 12. 66, 4; H. 4. 7, 4.

et reges, 'even kings'; apparently in bitter contrast to 'servitutis.'

4. **mox . . . continuit**, i.e. 'secutus est et continuit': there is a similar condensation below ('Suetonius hinc . . . habuit'), and A. cites others from G. 44. 1, 2.

Didius Gallus (Aulus), after gaining distinction, probably as legatus of Moesia, by operations against Mithridates of Bosporus about A. D. 46 (see A. 12. 15, 1, and note), was legatus of Britain A.D. 52–57. His hostilities with the Silures and Brigantes are given briefly in A. 12. 40, where he is spoken of as 'senectute gravis et multa copia honorum,' and said to have left all action to subordinates and contented himself with standing on the defensive. Elsewhere (A. 14. 29, 1) Tacitus says of him 'neque . . . nisi parta retinuerat.' Possibly his five years' rule may have been a period in which ground already won was secured by forts, roads, &c.

5. **promotis**, aoristic, as also 'subactis' and 'firmatis' below: see c. 2, 2, &c.

aucti officii. The post-Augustan use of 'officium' for an office, appointment, sphere of duty (cp. c. 19, 3; 25, 1; Gudeman on Dial. 6, 7), may justify this expression, though certainly a harsh equivalent for 'auctae provinciae.' Sallust has 'officia intendere,' in the sense of doing more than bare duty (Jug. 75, 8); which Dr. thinks may be the meaning here.

6. **Veranius** (Quintus), formerly a legatus and friend of Germanicus (A. 2. 56, 4; 74, 2; 3. 10, 1, &c.), consul A. D. 49 (12. 5, 1), was legatus of Britain in A. D. 58: see on 14. 29, 1, where it is said that he made some attacks on the Silures, and in his will boasted that he could have subdued the whole province in two more years. There is much to be said for the insertion of the praenomen here, but Maxa points out that he is often named without it, especially in A. 14. 29, 1, the only mention of him in that narrative in the Annals.

7. **Suetonius Paulinus**: see on c. 5, 1. His 'biennium' would be A. D. 59 and 60, before the great rebellion of A. D. 61.

hinc, 'after this'; so in Plin. ma., &c., and often in Tacitus.

8. **firmatisque praesidiis**, best taken, with A., to mean 'praesidiis firmis positis': cp. 'aciem firmarent' (c. 35, 2), 'firmando praesidio' (A. 13. 41, 3), &c. To take 'firmatis' with

fiducia Monam insulam ut vires rebellibus ministrantem adgressus terga occasioni patefecit.

15. Namque absentia legati remoto metu Britanni agitare inter se mala servitutis, conferre iniurias et interpretando accendere: nihil profici patientia nisi ut graviora tamquam ex facili tolerantibus imperentur. singulos sibi olim reges fuisse,

1. Nomam Δ (and in c. 18). 5. sapientia Δ. 6. imperantur (perh. from imperarentur) Δ.

'nationibus,' and 'praesidiis' as instrumental abl., though supported by c. 23, 2; H. 2. 83, 2; 4. 55, 4, gives here an awkward construction. It is shown in Introd. p. 36 and A. ii. Introd. p. 141 that the period from the time of Ostorius to the rebellion of Boudicca is probably marked by the occupation of important outposts against the unsubdued tribes of Wales and the Brigantes, and by the construction of some of the great roads, as that of Watling Street from London to Wroxeter.

quorum, probably 'which things' (cp. A. 3. 63, 1), not only the 'praesidia': 'fiducia' is causal abl.

1. **Monam**, Anglesey, known by name to Caesar, who perhaps confounds it with Man (B. G. 5. 13, 3), and to Pliny, who says it was 200 miles from Camulodunum (2. 75, 77, 187). In A. 14. 29, 3, Tacitus calls it 'incolis validam et receptaculum perfugarum,' and describes graphically the attack on this Druid stronghold (c. 30). Agricola again invaded it (c. 18, 4).

rebellibus, a word almost wholly poetical before Tacitus.

2. **terga occasioni patefecit**, 'exposed his rear to opportunity,' i.e. to attack; a new and bold figure: cp. 'terga praestare' (c. 37, 3), 'praebere' (A. 14. 37, 3), 'promittere' (H. 5. 18, 3), &c. For 'occasio' cp. c. 18, 1; 24, 3; G. 30, 2; also 'casum insidiantibus aperirent,' A. 4. 50, 6.

3. **Namque**, &c. Tacitus shows no knowledge here of any special grievances, other than the ordinary 'mala servitutis,' the 'cuncta magnis imperiis obiectari solita' (H. 4. 68, 7): in the Annals (14. 31) he speaks of the exactions levied on the Iceni after the death of their king Prasutagus, the outrages on Boudicca and her daughters, the oppression of the Trinovantes by the veteran colonists of Camulodunum, the temple of Claudius as a standing monument of subjection.

agitare . . . conferre. A. compares 'agitarent . . . sermonibus, atque in medium . . . conferrent' (Liv. 3. 34, 4), and 'conferre sollicitudines' (Cic. ad F. 6. 21, 2). Some make the two words here nearly synonymous, but it is better to distinguish them as 'discuss and compare.'

4. **interpretando accendere**, 'kindling the description by suggestion of motives': 'accendere' is more properly used of a feeling, as hope, grief, &c., but also of aggravating the force of words (A. 1. 69, 7; Liv. 4. 58, 11); so that 'iniurias,' though taken in its ordinary sense with 'conferre,' seems with 'accendere' to take a pregnant meaning, as that of the sense of injury, or the words describing it. We have a still stronger figure, 'delicta accendebat,' in A. 12. 54, 3. 'Interpretando' (cp. 'deterius interpretantibus' H. 1. 14, 2) would imply putting the worst construction on acts, tracing in them a set purpose to insult and oppress (e.g. 'ut . . . saeviret').

5. **nihil profici**, 'nothing was gained (cp. c. 19, 1, &c.) by submission.'

tamquam, 'as though' (like ὡς; cp. A. i. Introd. p. 62, § 67), giving the ground, as it appeared to the rulers.

ex facili, a Graecism for the adverb; so 'cetera ex facili' H. 3. 49, 1; perhaps from Ovid ('culpa nec ex facili' Am. 2. 2, 55): cp. 'ex aequo' (c. 20, 3, and note), 'ex affluenti' (H. 1. 57, 5). Wölfflin notes (Philol. xxvi. 146) that this Graecism is found in Cic., Sall., Liv., and is much extended in Sen., but occurs oftener in earlier works of Tacitus than in the Annals.

nunc binos imponi, e quibus legatus in sanguinem, procurator in bona saeviret. aeque discordiam praepositorum, aeque concordiam subiectis exitiosam. alterius manum centuriones,
3 alterius servos vim et contumelias miscere. nihil iam cupiditati, nihil libidini exceptum. in proelio fortiorem esse qui spoliet: nunc ab ignavis plerumque et imbellibus eripi domos, abstrahi liberos, iniungi dilectus, tamquam mori tantum pro
4 patria nescientibus. quantulum enim transisse militum, si sese Britanni numerent? sic Germanias excussisse iugum: et
5 flumine, non Oceano defendi. sibi patriam coniuges parentes, illis avaritiam et luxuriam causas belli esse. recessuros, ut

3. manum^{s} Γ, manum Δ, manus P, enim (for manum) Meiser, alterius servos manum Urlichs. centurionis: centuriones R. 6. imbecillibus Γ, text Δ. diripi Heinsius.

1. **e quibus**, &c., 'the governor to wreak his fury on our life-blood (as having power to put to death), the procurator on our property.' In A. 14. 32, 7, the extortion of the procurator Catus Decianus is given as one of the chief causes of the rising.

2. **aeque . . . aeque**, perhaps imitated from Hor. Ep. 1. 1, 25, 26 (where the word is three times repeated): cp. other such repetitions noted in Introd. pp. 19, 20.

3. **alterius manum**, &c., 'the attendant troop (cp. Dial. 37, 3; H. 4. 39, 4, &c.) of the one (the legatus), his centurions, that of the other (the procurator), his slaves.' 'Manus' would perhaps be preferable, but may be only the conjecture of Laetus; and no further correction than that of 'centurionis' to 'centuriones' seems required; though the construction is certainly harsh. Very similar language is used in A. 14. 31, 2, 'ut regnum per centuriones, domus per servos velut capta vastarentur.'

4. **miscere**, perhaps (as A. suggests) 'inflict promiscuously,' without sparing each other's victims; more probably 'mingle with each other': cp. 'minas adulationesque miscet' H. 3. 74, 3.

5. **exceptum**, 'exempted from': cp. 'excipiam sorti,' Verg. Aen. 9, 271.

in proelio, &c., 'in battle the spoiler is at least the stronger,' and the indignity therefore less.

6. **nunc**, 'as things are': cp. c. 1, 4.

ignavis . . . et imbellibus; so coupled in G. 12, 1; 31, 2.

eripi domos. Dr. notes this bold figure as adapted to the following words. The veteran colonists of Camulodunum (the 'senum coloniae' of c. 32, 4) are referred to, who 'pellebant domibus, exturbabant agris, captivos, servos appellando' (A. 14. 31, 5). W. puts a full stop after 'domos,' making the following verbs describe the action of the government generally.

7. **tantum**, taken closely with 'pro patria': 'as if we knew how to die for every cause save that of our country.' ✗

8. **quantulum enim** (cp. G. 28, 1); i. e. they must count (and we will show that they wrongly count) on our cowardice, for what a handful are our invaders in proportion to our own numbers?

9. **sic**, 'as we will': cp. 'sic olim Sacrovirum . . . concidisse' H. 4. 57, 3. The plural 'Germaniae' is often used (like 'Galliae') of the two Roman military governments or provinces (cp. A. 1. 57, 2, and note), and probably here of portions subject at the time spoken of (cp. c. 28, 1; A. 1. 57, 2, and note). The allusion is to the defeat of Varus in A.D. 9: see on A. 1. 61.

et, 'and yet': cp. c. 9, 3.

11. **causas**, 'motives': cp. c. 30, 1.

✗ Perh. however rather "the only thing they cannot do for their country is to die for it". They can pay taxes – they can sacrifice house & home, they can enlist their sons in the Roman armies, but they cannot die for Britain ... tantum with mori

divus Iulius recessisset, modo virtutem maiorum suorum aemularentur. neve proelii unius aut alterius eventu pavescerent: plus impetus, maiorem constantiam penes miseros esse. iam Britannorum etiam deos misereri, qui Romanum 6
ducem absentem, qui relegatum in alia insula exercitum detinerent; iam ipsos, quod difficillimum fuerit, deliberare. porro in eius modi consiliis periculosius esse deprehendi quam audere.

16. His atque talibus in vicem instincti, Boudicca generis

3. illis (after or before 'impetus') ins. Peerlkamp, integris Acid. Halm, superbis Urlichs, imperantibus Bährens, inpotentibus Müller. 9. Voadicca Γ, Voaduca Δ, text Haase.

1. **divus Iulius**, perhaps used sarcastically, like 'ille inter numina dicatus' (A. 1. 59, 7), but more probably only as a distinctive title, as a Roman would use it.

modo, 'if only': cp. A. 2. 14, 6; 13. 55, 4, &c.

2. **aemularentur**, answering to 'aemulemur' in oratio recta. The exhortation is carried on in 'neve,' &c.

unius aut alterius, 'one or perhaps two': cp. c. 12, 2; 40, 4; also A. 3. 34, 8, and note.

3 **plus impetus**, &c. Most editors, except W. and Ritt., assume a lacuna, on the ground that 'impetus' and 'constantia' were hardly likely to be found in the same persons; and that their superiority in the latter quality would be emphasized as making up for being surpassed in the former. Of the proposed insertions, those beginning with the same letter as 'impetus' are palaeographically not improbable; but the Romans would rather be credited with 'scientia' or 'disciplina' than 'impetus' (usually rather a barbaric quality), and 'integris' ('a hitherto unvanquished tribe': cp. c. 31, 5) brings in a new contrast hitherto unsuggested. The comparison implied in 'plus' and 'maiorem' can hardly be other than with the Romans, but on the whole it seems as if the sentence, though perhaps logically more complete with an insertion, is rhetorically weakened by it, and that the most appropriate words to such an occasion would be those of unqualified encouragement, that their desperation would give both more ardour to their attack and more resolution to their resistance than could be expected from the enemy.

6. **fuerit**, equivalent to 'fuit' in oratio recta; 'we ourselves (contrast to 'deos') have already taken the most difficult step in that we have met to deliberate': to have dared this is to dare all ('nam qui deliberant desciverunt,' H. 2. 77, 6), and to have overcome the difficulty of disunion (c. 12, 2).

7. **porro**, 'besides,' or rather perhaps ='atqui' (cp. Gudeman on Dial. 5, 7), either expanding a thought or adding another tending to the same conclusion (cp. c. 31, 4; A. 3. 34, 8; 12. 5, 5, &c.).

deprehendi, i. e. to wait until you are found out: the same sentiment is expressed in H. 1. 21, 5; 81. 1.

9. **His atque talibus.** Nipperdey, on A. 1. 5, 1, cites some twenty instances of this formula in Tacitus.

in vicem. A. notes that Tacitus uses both this (Dial. 31, 2) and 'inter se' (H. 3. 17, 3, &c.) with passives; mutual patients being also mutual agents. For other uses cp. c. 6, 1; 24, 1; 37, 5. The phrase 'his vocibus instincti' (cp. A. 2. 46, 3, &c.) is found in Liv. 9. 40, 7.

Boudicca. This form of a name very variously read in MSS. (see note on A. 14. 31, 3) is generally adopted from the Med. text of A. 14. 37, 5, and is explained to mean 'Victorina' (Rhys, Celtic Britain, p. 282). The popular form 'Boadicea' is a mere error of some printed editions, and has no Celtic

regii femina duce (neque enim sexum in imperiis discernunt) sumpsere universi bellum; ac sparsos per castella milites consectati, expugnatis praesidiis ipsam coloniam invasere ut sedem servitutis, nec ullum in barbaris saevitiae genus omisit
2 ira et victoria. quod nisi Paulinus cognito provinciae motu propere subvenisset, amissa Britannia foret; quam unius proelii fortuna veteri patientiae restituit, tenentibus arma

1. nec Δ. 4. ut in Peerlkamp. 7. tenentibus tamen Ritt., etsi tenentibus Nipp., quamquam (transposed from below) tenentibus Bährens.

meaning. The same is the case with the popular form 'Caractacus.'

1. **neque enim**, &c. A queen of the Brigantes, Cartimandua, also occurs (A. 12. 36, 1; H. 3. 45, 1); and Boudicca is made to say in A. 14. 35, 1, 'solitum quidem Britannis feminarum ductu bellare'; but both these cases seem exceptional, and the subjects of the former are said to have rebelled, 'stimulante ignominia, ne feminae imperio subderentur' (A. 12. 40, 5), and the general evidence respecting Celtic peoples is against the existence of such a custom (Rhys, p. 66).

2. **sumpsere . . . bellum.** This phrase, probably taken from the ordinary 'sumere arma,' is frequent in Tacitus (cp. A. 2. 45, 1, &c.), as also Sall. and Liv., and may have been borrowed from Greek writers (cp. *πόλεμον ἤραντο*, Thuc. 3. 39, 3). A. notes also 'sumere proelium' (H. 2. 42, 3), 'expugnationem' (A. 15. 5, 4).

sparsos, &c. In A. 14. 33, 4, they are described as only attacking defenceless places abounding in plunder, 'omissis castellis praesidiisque militarium.'

3. **coloniam**: cp. c. 14, 1. In A. 14. 31, 7; 32, 4, it is stated that Camulodunum was unfortified, and that its scanty garrison occupied the precinct of the temple of Claudius, which was stormed in two days. The still existing and very perfect Roman walls of Colchester must therefore be later than this date.

ut sedem, 'looking upon it as the headquarters': in A. 14. 31, 6, the temple is mentioned as especially regarded 'quasi arx aeternae dominationis.'

4. **in barbaris** = 'barbaricae,' 'usual among barbarians.' It is possible that 'ut' may have dropped out (cp. c. 11, 1), but the construction is parallel to that in c. 6, 3. In 14. 33, 6, he says 'neque enim capere aut venundare . . . sed caedes patibula ignes cruces . . . festinabant,' and states that the important towns of London and Verulam were sacked, and that the number of 'cives' and 'socii' massacred was 70,000, and the Ninth legion was cut to pieces.

5. **ira et victoria** (personified), 'revenge and pride of victory'; an expression softened in A. 14. 38, 4, into 'hostili ira et superbia victoris.' Some take the words as a hendiadys for 'irati victores' or 'ira victorum.'

quod nisi, 'but had not': cp. Madvig, § 449; used by Tacitus only in this treatise (c. 26, 4; and 'quod ni' c. 37, 4).

6. **subvenisset.** The account of his march is given in A. 14. 33. He collected his troops, probably at Viroconium (Wroxeter), and marched to London (probably by the Watling Street), but was unable to save either that town or Verulam. In his great battle, fought in some position that cannot be identified, probably between London and Colchester, he had with him only the Fourteenth legion, a detachment of the Twentieth, and auxiliaries making up the total to 10,000 men. The battle is described in 14. 32–37.

7. **fortuna**, best taken as abl.

veteri patientiae, 'to its old subjection.' This is so far true, that the Britons ventured no more battles; but the context shows, and the account in 14. 38 further describes, the continuance of a stubborn, passive resistance,

plerisque, quos conscientia defectionis et propius ex legato timor agitabat, ne quamquam egregius cetera adroganter in deditos et ut suae cuiusque iniuriae ultor durius consuleret. missus igitur Petronius Turpilianus tamquam exorabilior et 3

1. proprius R. 2. nequaquam (nequam, perhaps nequamquam Γ[m]): text Walch (cp. H. 4. 68, 1), ni quamquam W. 3. eiusque: quoque P, text W, quisque Nipp. 4. missus igitur, ne . . . consuleret Doed.

and devastation of rebel districts by troops quartered upon them.

tenentibus (for 'retinentibus'). One of the many difficulties of this much vexed passage is that of taking this to mean 'although very many still retained their arms.' The insertions proposed are violent, and the ellipse of such a conjunction, though beyond anything usual even in Tacitus, may possibly be tolerated as one of the many points in which this treatise seems exceptional.

1. **propius.** This can be explained, with Nipp. (Rh. Mus. xix. 98, foll.), as 'propius agitabat quam conscientia,' &c.: cp. 'propius metuens' Sil. It. 1, 32. Their consciousness that they were rebels would have alarmed them anyhow, but the fear arising from his character touched them closer yet: they feared that he would deal more severely than any other legatus would. The reading 'proprius' (cp. H. 3. 45, 1; 4. 7, 1; A. 15. 64, 1, &c.) would imply that they were specially afraid as having been ring-leaders, which may have been the case. The boldest emendation is that of Knaut, who omits 'quos,' reading 'conscientia rebellionis' (as causal abl.), followed by 'et principem ex,' &c.

2. **ne quamquam,** &c. This seems to be the best correction. The alternative 'ni,' taken with 'restituit' (in the sense of 'restituisset': cp. c. 4, 4, and note), rests on the ground that the simple indicative 'restituit' would state what is not in accordance with fact or context (but see note above), and that any concessive clause as to their enemy's eminence in other respects forms no part of the British point of view. But the qualities implied by 'cetera' might be such as did concern subjects; they might say that, though they had no reason to fear his corruptibility or iniquity, they did fear his mercilessness to rebels. Also the interposition of 'tenentibus . . . agitabat,' as a long parenthetical clause, between 'restituit' and 'ni,' is awkward; whereas 'timor, ne' go well together. 'Egregius cetera' seems taken from Liv. 1. 35, 6.

in deditos, 'against them if they surrendered.'

3. **ut suae cuiusque iniuriae.** This correction is best supported, but the construction is ambiguous. We should expect 'suae cuiusque' to go together; but the best meaning is given by taking the words as 'ultor cuiusque iniuriae ut suae,' 'avenging any wrong as if it were his own.' Much the same meaning would be given by reading 'quisque,' 'as any one avenging his own wrong would act.'

4. **missus igitur,** &c. The circumstances are given more fully in A. 14. 38–39, where it is stated that a new procurator (succeeding Decianus) both held out hopes to the people of Suetonius' removal, and also wrote against him to Nero, who sent out his freedman Polyclitus to make inquiry, and on his report recalled Suetonius on a slight pretext. 'Missus' is probably to be taken (with Nipp.) not as a finite verb, but as a participial clause; such being often used by Tacitus for conciseness: cf. A. i. Introd. p. 68, § 81.

Petronius Turpilianus, consul in Jan. and Feb. of that year (A. 14. 29, 1; 39, 4, and notes), and probably sent out in the autumn. He must have returned to Rome by A.D. 63–64, when he was 'curator aquarum' (Frontin. Aq. 102). He received 'triumphalia' in A.D. 65 (A. 15. 72, 2), and was put to death, as a friend of Nero, by Galba in A.D. 68 (H. 1. 6, 2).

tamquam, 'as supposed to be (cp. 15, 1, &c.) more open to entreaty.' Tacitus may mean that the real cause of change was the intrigue of the pro-

delictis hostium novus eoque paenitentiae mitior, compositis
prioribus nihil ultra ausus Trebellio Maximo provinciam
4 tradidit. Trebellius segnior et nullis castrorum experimentis,
comitate quadam curandi provinciam tenuit. didicere iam
barbari quoque ignoscere vitiis blandientibus, et interventus
civilium armorum praebuit iustam segnitiae excusationem:
sed discordia laboratum, cum adsuetus expeditionibus miles
5 otio lasciviret. Trebellius, fuga ac latebris vitata exercitus
ira indecorus atque humilis, precario mox praefuit, ac velut

1. novis Δ. 2. usus Γ, ausis Δ, text P. 6. seuitiae acusationem Δ. 9. indecoris: text P. mox fuit Δ.

curator and freedman; but 'tamquam' does not always imply a fictitious reason: cp. A. 3. 72, 4, and note.

1. **novus**, 'a stranger to': cp. 'novusque dolori,' Sil. It. 6, 254. For the dat. with 'mitis' cp. A. 4. 17, 2; 11. 20, 1; Ov. ex P. 2. 1, 48.

compositis prioribus, 'having pacified the previous turbulence': cp. 'compositis praesentibus' (A. 1. 45, 1), and the contrast 'priora' . . . 'praesentia' (A. 1. 29, 1), &c. More could hardly have been expected in two years; so that the 'nihil ultra ausus' and the fuller statement (A. 14. 39, 5), 'non inritato hoste neque lacessitus honestum pacis nomen segni otio imposuit,' are unjust.

2. **Trebellio Maximo**, fully named L. Trebellius Maximus Pollio, consul with Seneca probably in A.D. 58: see note on A. 14. 46, 2. He was governor of Britain A.D. 63 or 64–69, and was still alive in A.D. 72 (see note l. l.).

3. **et nullis . . . experimentis**, 'and of no military experience' (for the abstract 'experientia,' as in c. 19, 1, &c.). The use of 'et' before a negative (cp. Madvig, 458 a) is especially common in Tacitus (see Dr. S. u. S. § 111; Gudeman on Dial. 12, 8), and such an expression seems stronger than 'neque ullus' (cp. G. 10, 4, and note). The brachylogical abl. of quality (here coordinated with 'segnior'), and the corresponding genit. (c. 4, 1, and note), become much more frequent in the Annals.

4. **curandi**, 'of administration': cp. 'qui curarent,' A. 11. 22, 8; and several places in Sall. Here, as A. points out, the juxtaposition of 'provinciam' softens the absolute use of the word.

didicere, &c., 'even the barbarians also learnt to excuse seductive vices' (such as sapped the energy of their conquerors): 'ignoscere' seems to be a litotes, for they must have welcomed them with gladness. For the expression cp. 'blandiente inertia,' H. 5. 4, 4.

6. **civilium armorum**, 'civilis belli' (that of A.D. 69); so used in G. 37, 6; H. 2. 11, 4; 45, 4, &c.

7. **discordia**, 'mutiny'; so in A. 6. 3, 2; H. 1. 53, 4; also 'discors' A. 1. 38, 1, &c., and 'discordare,' c. 32, 4, &c.

9. **indecorus**, 'unhonoured,' i. e. despised. This form occurs frequently, 'indecoris' (retained by W.) nowhere else in Tacitus; nor do we know whether Vergil's 'indecorem,' 'indecores' come from 'indecoris' or 'indecor.'

precario, 'on sufferance': cp. the adj. G. 44, 3; H. 1. 52, 6; 4. 76, 5; A. 1. 42, 7. The state of things is described more fully in H. 1. 60, where it is stated that the mutiny was fomented by one of the legati legionum (cp. c. 7, 5), and Trebellius at last obliged to fly to Vitellius. This however cannot be the 'fuga' here spoken of.

ac velut pacti, &c., 'and they as it were made a compact, the army for its licence, the general for his life.' The sentence, thus read in Γ, is an explanation of 'precario,' and 'sunt' can be supplied with 'pacti'; 'velut' implying that it was merely a tacit under-

pacti, exercitus licentiam, dux salutem, et seditio sine sanguine stetit. nec Vettius Bolanus, manentibus adhuc civilibus bellis, 6
agitavit Britanniam disciplina: eadem inertia erga hostis, similis petulantia castrorum, nisi quod innocens Bolanus et nullis delictis invisus caritatem paraverat loco auctoritatis.

17. Sed ubi cum cetero orbe Vespasianus et Britanniam recuperavit, magni duces, egregii exercitus, minuta hostium spes. et terrorem statim intulit Petilius Cerialis, Brigantum 2

1. salute Δ, al. facta (corruption of pacta?) exercitus licentia ducis salute Γ^n, pactis . . . licentia . . . salute Müller, salutem esset (or essent), seditio Halm, [et seditio . . . stetit] W, ea seditio Doed. 2. uectius uolanus (Bolanus Δ): cp. c. 8, 1. 3. fatigavit or castigavit Madvig, agitavit disciplinam Bährens. et eadem Δ. 7. reciperavit L., Halm. 8. Bregantum (below Bregantium Δ): in c. 31, 4 Brigantes: in A. 12. 32, H. 3, 45, Brigantes, Brigantum.

standing. To supply 'essent' would be certainly to go beyond the general limits within which Tacitus uses this ellipse (see A. i. Introd. p. 53, § 39 b), and must be justified, if at all, by the not fully parallel instances, A. 1. 7, 1; H. 1. 85, 5. The alteration of 'et' to 'esset' or 'essent' seems clearly the best emendation, if any is needed. The alternative suggested by the marginal MS. text, though possible, may be only a conjecture; and it does not seem a great stretch to give 'pactus sum' here the deponent construction which the participle has elsewhere (H. 4. 60, 3, &c.). For a full discussion of the difficulties see Nipp., Rh. Mus. xix. 105, foll.; Wölfflin, Philol. xxvi. 98.

1. **et seditio sine sanguine stetit**, 'and the mutiny came to a standstill without bloodshed.' The omission of this sentence would give the description a weak and abrupt ending; and the sense of 'stetit' seems sufficiently justified by A. 12. 22, 3; H. 4. 67, 3, &c.; also Plin. Ep. 5. 11, 3 ('nescit . . . liberalitas stare'). Nothing is here said of the flight of Trebellius (see note above).

2. **Vettius Bolanus**: see c. 8, 1, and note.

3. **agitavit Britanniam disciplina**, 'harassed Britain by keeping his army in training.' It is very difficult to suppose this text sound; but no emendation has found favour. The following words help to explain it.

4. **nisi quod**, 'except that' (cp. c. 6, 1): i.e. he was not, like Trebellius, 'per avaritiam ac sordes contemptus' (H. 1. 60, 1).

et nullis: see above, § 4. The abl. here seems causal.

7. **recuperavit** (on the form cp. c. 5, 4, and note), a somewhat exaggerated expression. Paulinus could rightly be said to have 'recovered' a virtually lost province (c. 5, 4), and Cerialis had done the same in Lower Germany; here Vespasian could only be said to have re-established a fully authoritative government. Suet. says (Vesp. 1) 'incertum diu et quasi vagum imperium suscepit firmavitque.'

magni duces, &c., sc. 'apparebant': cp. c. 33, 1, &c. The ellipse of such verbs is more usual in epistolary writing than in historical narrative.

minuta, sc. 'est': cp. A. 15. 39, 2. The asyndetic addition of a clause containing so different an idea to those preceding is noted by Gudeman as contrary to the usage of Tacitus elsewhere: cp. c. 13, 5; G. 30, 2; 44, 1, &c. Hence he suggests that the 'et' before 'terrorem' should be placed before 'minuta.'

8. **Petilius Cerialis**: see c. 8, 2, and note, where it is shown that he governed Britain probably from the spring of A. D. 71 to that of A. D. 74.

Brigantum. This name, taken by Rhys to mean 'freemen,' is probably that of a confederacy including several subordinate tribes, and extended over the whole country north of the Trent

civitatem, quae numerosissima provinciae totius perhibetur, adgressus. multa proelia, et aliquando non incruenta; magnamque Brigantum partem aut victoria amplexus est aut
3 bello. et Cerialis quidem alterius successoris curam famamque obruisset: sustinuitque molem Iulius Frontinus, vir magnus,

1. perhiberet Δ. 4. alterius quidem Hübner, Cornelissen; [successoris] Nipp. 5. sustinuit quoque P, sustinuit[que] Vielhaber, Halm, sustinuit utique Schoemann, sed sustinuit Orelli, obruisset * * * sustinuitque W, subiit (or sed subiit, or suscepit) sustinuitque al.

and Humber from sea to sea. Their northern limit is unknown, and is thought by some to have extended to the borders of Caledonia. For their earlier relations with Rome see A. 12. 32, 3; 36, 1; 40, 3; and notes. They are spoken of in c. 31, 5, as having joined Boudicca, and they were certainly in arms under Venutius in A. D. 69 (H. 3. 45). For their submission to Cerialis and subsequent hostility see Introd. pp. 37, 50.

1. **perhibetur**: cp. 'perhibent' (c. 10, 6). In Agricola's time they must have been perhaps the best known of all Britons; but their numerical superiority to all others might still be matter of rumour only till the extreme north was more fully explored.

2. **adgressus**, aoristic.

3. **aut victoria amplexus est aut bello.** This participle is used again in c. 25, 1, in the same or a similar sense. Here it appears to mean that he got them into his grasp, overpowered them: the antithesis of 'victoria' and 'bellum' seems to mean 'permanently conquered or overran.'

4. **alterius**, 'any other' (than such a man as Frontinus): on the use of this genit. for that of 'alius' cp. c. 5, 4, and note.

curam, 'the administration': cp. note on 'curandi' (c. 16, 4).

5. **obruisset**, 'would have effaced': cp. c. 46, 4, and 'splendore aliorum obruebantur' Dial. 38, 2.

sustinuitque. This text can only be sustained by giving the conjunction an adversative force, such as that of 'et' for 'et tamen' (cp. c. 9, 3, &c.). Several instances of such use of 'que' with a meaning approaching to 'and yet' are given by Prof. Gudeman and in Lex. pp. 1282, 1283; of which perhaps the strongest are A. 2. 70, 4 ('moderabaturque'); 13. 10, 1 ('sibique'); 14. 38, 4 ('gentesque,' where see note). But in none of them, except perhaps the last, is the adversative force as strong as is here required. Nor does this force seem sufficiently given by omitting the conjunction and making 'sustinuit' adversative by position and emphasis. There is thus some reason for suspecting a lacuna, though there is nothing to show how it might have been filled up.

molem; so used of the burden of war in A. 1. 45, 1; 3. 43, 1; H. 3. 46, 3.

Iulius Frontinus, author of the extant treatises 'de aquaeductis' and 'strategematon,' praet. urb. A. D. 70 (H. 4. 39, 1). He must have been cos. before he was legatus of Britain; and Borghesi infers from an inscription in which only the letters 'on' survive (see Klein, Fasti) that he was cos. immediately after Cerialis (see on c. 8, 2) in July A. D. 74. But this would show Britain to have been some months without a legatus, and it is more probable that he was cos. earlier, and succeeded Cerialis in Britain early in A. D. 74. He was 'curator aquarum' in A. D. 97 ('de aq.' 102), cos. II with Trajan after the death of Nerva in Feb. A. D. 98 (Klein), cos. III (again with Trajan) in Jan. A. D. 100 (C. I. L. vi. 2222, &c.). It has been thought from his mention of Domitian's German war of A. D. 83 (see on c. 39, 2) that he may have served in it. The date of his death is to be inferred from the fact that Pliny succeeded him in the augurship, probably soon after A. D. 106 (Plin. Ep. 4. 8, 6: cp. ad Trai. 13). Pliny gives also (Ep. 9. 19, 6) his reason for prohibiting a monument to himself.

quantum licebat, validamque et pugnacem Silurum gentem
armis subegit, super virtutem hostium locorum quoque diffi-
cultates eluctatus.

18. Hunc Britanniae statum, has bellorum vices media iam
aestate transgressus Agricola invenit, cum et milites velut
omissa expeditione ad securitatem et hostes ad occasionem
verterentur. Ordovicum civitas haud multo ante adventum 2
eius alam in finibus suis agentem prope universam obtriverat,
eoque initio erecta provincia. et quibus bellum volentibus 3

2. locorumque Δ. 4. Britannia Δ. 7. uterentur (with note of error) Γ, text Δ.

1. **quantum licebat**, i.e. as far as a subject could become great under an emperor: so Memmius Regulus is called 'in quantum praeumbrante imperatoris fastigio datur, clarus' (A. 14. 47, 1).

Silurum: see c. 11, 2, and note. Their pugnacity is fully dwelt upon in A. 12. 33, 1; 39, 3-4; 40, 2.

2. **super** = 'besides'; so in A. 1. 59, 2, &c., and often in Livy.

3. **eluctatus**; so 'nives eluctantibus,' H. 3. 59, 3; 'eluctandae manus essent,' Liv. 24. 26, 13; and the accus. with 'evadere,' 'egredi,' &c.; it is taken more loosely with 'virtutem.' Symmachus appears to follow Tacitus, having 'eluctatus itineris difficultates' (Ep. 5, 74).

4. **vices**, those by which the 'status' had been brought about; alternations of success and disaster, energy and inactivity.

media . . aestate, i.e. about July. The question whether this was in A.D. 77 or 78 involves the difference of a year in dating all his campaigns and his recall, which latter would thus fall either in 84 or 85. Those who support the earlier date consider that he must have started immediately ('statim,' c. 9, 7) after his consulship, which they would therefore place in the second three months of 77. But 'statim,' can have another reference (see note there), and there is nothing else to show at what time of the year he was consul; nor does the 'nuper' of c. 39, 2 (where see note) show that he was recalled in 84; and a strong argument against the earlier date is furnished by the episode of the Usipi, which would thus have to be placed in 82, a year too soon (see c. 28, 1, and note). I have therefore taken his arrival to have been in A.D. 78. It has been suggested as possible that his departure was delayed by the formalities of his election to the pontificate (c. 9, 7).

5. **velut**, like 'tamquam,' giving their opinion, 'as though the campaign for this year were dropped.' A. compares 'exterritae, velut Nero adventaret,' H. 2. 8, 1.

6. **ad occasionem**, 'to look for their opportunity': cp. c. 14, 4. 'Verterentur,' deponent, 'were turning their thoughts.' The winter was their favourable time (c. 22, 3).

7. **Ordovicum**. These people, who occupied most of central and north Wales, had been associated with the Silures under the rule of Caratacus (A. 12. 33, 2). The name has been thought to mean 'hammerers,' from their use of the axe hammer as a weapon (Rhys, p. 303).

8. **agentem**, 'encamped'; often so used of soldiers, e.g. H. 1. 70, 1; 74, 3; 2. 39, 3; 51, 2, &c., also in Sall. and Liv.

obtriverat, 'had annihilated'; so in A. 15. 11, 1; H. 4. 76, 1; properly used of those crushed by a mass, as A. 4. 63, 2; 12. 43, 1; 16. 5, 2.

9. **erecta** ('est'), 'was excited'; so A. 14. 57, 3, &c.: cp. 'erectum ingenium' c. 4, 5: so in Cic. and Liv., but more commonly 'ad aliquid,' or 'aliqua re.'

quibus bellum volentibus erat, 'those who wished for war.' This

erat, probare exemplum ac recentis legati animum opperiri, cum Agricola, quamquam transvecta aestas, sparsi per provinciam numeri, praesumpta apud militem illius anni quies, tarda et contraria bellum inchoaturo, et plerisque custodiri suspecta potius videbatur, ire obviam discrimini statuit; contractisque legionum vexillis et modica auxiliorum manu, quia in aequum degredi Ordovices non audebant, ipse ante agmen, quo ceteris
4 par animus simili periculo esset, erexit aciem. caesaque prope universa gente, non ignarus instandum famae ac, prout prima cessissent, terrorem ceteris fore, Monam insulam, *a* cuius possessione revocatum Paulinum rebellione totius Bri-

2. transacta R. 7. digredi: text Acid. 10. tenorem Boot. a ins. editio Bipontina.

Greek attracted dative is used in H. 3. 43, 2; Sall. Jug. 84, 3; 100, 4; Liv. 21. 50, 10; also 'invitis aut cupientibus' A. 1. 59, 1.

1. **animum opperiri**, 'waited to see his temper' (cp. A. 2. 69, 4, and note), before actually breaking out. 'Ac' seems to have the meaning 'and yet': cp. 'et' (c. 9, 3).

2. **cum, &c.** A. notes this construction after inf. hist. in A. 1. 11, 5; 11. 16, 5.

transvecta; so 'transvectum est tempus,' H. 2. 76, 6, according to Dr., the only similar instance.

3. **numeri**, 'detachments'; so in H. 1. 6, 5; 87, 1.

praesumpta, 'was taken for granted'; 'apud militem' (cp. c. 21, 3; 22, 4, &c.) being, as A. points out, equivalent to 'animo militum': cp. A. 14. 64, 5; and 'praesumo' in A. 11. 7, 1; 12. 41, 4.

tarda et contraria, either predicate of, or perhaps better taken in apposition to, all the preceding clauses: cp. 'promissa' (H. 4. 19, 1), 'inania' (A. 16. 8, 1), &c. 'Tardus,' in the sense of 'retarding,' is poetical (Hor., &c.).

4. **suspecta**, 'suspected districts.' A. compares 'neglecta' (H. 3. 69, 5), 'praesentia' (A. 3. 38, 6). 'Potius' is an adjective.

6. **vexillis**, 'detached corps,' serving under a 'vexillum' instead of their legionary 'signa'; also called 'vexillationes' (Inscr.), and the men 'vexillarii' (A. 1. 38, 1, &c.). He may have had one such body, from 500 to 1,000 strong, from each of his legions.

7. **ante agmen**, sc. 'incedens': cp. c. 35, 4.

8. **erexit aciem**, 'marched his troops up-hill' (more full expression in c. 36, 2; H. 3. 71, 1; 4. 71, 5); a military term used by Livy.

9. **instandum famae**, 'prestige must be followed up': cp. A. 13. 8, 4, and note, H. 3. 52, 2; 6. 15, 4.

prout prima cessissent, 'according to the issue of the first attack (cp. 'bene cedere,' &c.) would be the terror in other quarters': for some such general word as 'eventum,' the more special 'terrorem' is substituted. Panic already existed and would be increased or lessened. The same sentiment is expressed in H. 2. 20, 3; 3. 70, 5; A. 12. 31, 2.

10. **Monam**: see c. 14, 4.

a cuius. In Liv. 25. 36, 2, Weissenborn reads 'revocat e proelio'; so that Vergil's 'acie revocaveris' (G. 4, 88) seems to be the only undisputed use of simple abl. with this verb (used with prep. in H. 1. 90, 1); and 'a' could easily have dropped out after 'insulā.' Such an abl. after other verbs compounded with 're' is more common: see W.

11. **possessione**, 'occupation': cp. A. 2. 5, 4; and 'possessa' (from 'possido') H. 2. 12, 1; 3. 8, 2, &c.

tanniae supra memoravi, redigere in potestatem animo intendit.
sed ut in subitis consiliis naves deerant: ratio et constantia 5
ducis transvexit. depositis omnibus sarcinis lectissimos auxi-
liarium, quibus nota vada et patrius nandi usus, quo simul
seque et arma et equos regunt, ita repente inmisit, ut obstupe-
facti hostes, qui classem, qui navis, qui mare expectabant, nihil
arduum aut invictum crediderint sic ad bellum venientibus.
ita petita pace ac dedita insula clarus ac magnus haberi 6
Agricola, quippe cui ingredienti provinciam, quod tempus alii
per ostentationem et officiorum ambitum transigunt, labor et
periculum placuisset. nec Agricola prosperitate rerum in 7

1. potestate Δ. 2. dubiis: subitis J. F. Gronovius. 3. tranuex Γ, tranare extra Δ, text P. 4. sueta vada Cornelissen. p̄rius Γ, prius Δ, patrius P, proprius W. 6. qui ratem Hachtmann, naves de more Cornel. 8. potita Δ.

1. **intendit.** The simple inf. with this verb (cp. A. 11. 32, 4; H. 2. 12, 5; 22, 5; and Sall. and Liv.) is analogous to many others: cp. A. i. Introd. p. 54, § 43.

2. **ut in subitis,** 'as in hastily formed plans'; i.e. the want of ships was an instance of the usual want of means in such cases. 'Dubia consilia' would rather mean wavering or uncertain plans.

ratio et constantia, 'the resource and decision.'

3. **auxiliarium,** probably his Batavians (cp. c. 36, 1), who were generally famed swimmers (H. 4. 12, 3; A. 2. 8, 3).

4. **quibus nota vada.** This may be taken (with A.) to mean not that they knew this channel, but that they knew generally how to find fords and pick their way. Some have thought from these words that Briton auxiliaries must be meant, but he does not seem to have used these till later (c. 29, 2).

5. **seque et.** In this combination of conjunctions, or 'que . . . ac,' used frequently by Tacitus (cp. A. 1. 4, 1, and note), after Sall. and Liv., 'que' is almost always joined to 'se,' 'sibi,' or 'ipsi': cp. Dr. S. u. S. § 123.

6. **qui mare.** No emendations of this have found much acceptance, and the expression may perhaps be defended by its rhetorical form, and as a mere amplification for emphasis, and another way of saying 'Romanos classe, navibus, mari adventuros.' They were looking out for the collection of a fleet, the advance of ships, an attack by sea (with all its difficulties and delays) and were amazed to find the enemy already upon them.

7. **invictum,** 'invincible'; so in A. 2. 25, 5; 15. 21, 4, often in Sallust, Livy, &c.

crediderint. The historical perf. subj. with 'ut,' frequent in Hist. and Ann., is used only here and in c. 20, 3, in the minor works, and only here joined with 'ita': cp. Dr. S. u. S. § 182. The consequence is referred back to the time of the cause.

8. **clarus ac magnus haberi,** from Sall. Cat. 53, 1 ('Cato clarus atque magnus habetur'): cp. also Jug. 92, 1.

9. **quippe cui.** A. notes that Tacitus uses this form here only, 'ut qui' eleven times.

ingredienti: cp. 'revertentem' c. 9, 1.

10. **officiorum ambitum,** 'courting compliments': cp. c. 40, 3; also 'venerantium officia' (A. 2. 1, 2), &c. Peter takes the 'ambitus' to have been on the part of the subjects; but the expression rather resembles 'officia provocans' (H. 5. 1, 2).

labor et periculum; so joined in H. 2. 69, 5.

11. **nec,** taken both with 'usus' and 'vocabat' ('he did not—nor did he'), as, in A. 3. 11, 3, 'haud' with 'intentus' and 'permisit.'

vanitatem usus, expeditionem aut victoriam vocabat victos continuisse; ne laureatis quidem gesta prosecutus est, sed ipsa dissimulatione famae famam auxit, aestimantibus quanta futuri spe tam magna tacuisset.

19. Ceterum animorum provinciae prudens, simulque doctus per aliena experimenta parum profici armis, si iniuriae seque-
2 rentur, causas bellorum statuit excidere. a se suisque orsus primum domum suam coërcuit, quod plerisque haud minus arduum est quam provinciam regere. nihil per libertos servosque publicae rei, non studiis privatis nec ex commendatione aut precibus centurionem militesve ascire, sed optimum

1. versus Cornelissen. 2. nec Δ. 6. incuriae Δ. 7. exscindere, excindere al. 8. primam Γ. 9. liberos: text P. 10. privatius: text P. 11. centurionem milites nescire: centurionum milites ascire P, centurionem, milites ascire K, text W, centuriones militesve Peter.

1. **victos continuisse**, apparently his own modest expression, he had 'kept in hand the tribes already conquered' (cp. 'Africam . . . continuit,' H. 1. 49, 7), and did not call that a campaign or a victory.

2. **laureatis** sc. 'litteris,' the full expression in Liv. 5. 28, 13, &c. The custom is described by Pliny (N. H. 15. 30, 40, 133): 'Romanis praecipue laetitiae victoriarumque nuntia additur (laurus) litteris et militum lanceis pilisque, fasces imperatorum decorat.'

3. **dissimulatione**, &c. For instances of similar 'chiasmus' see Dr. S. u. S. § 235; Gudeman, Introd. to Dial. cxvi.

aestimantibus, 'when men considered'; probably a concise abl. abs.; such being often used by Tacitus, and sometimes earlier, not only where a subject has been recently expressed, but also where it can be inferred from the context: cp. 'orantibus' (A. 1. 29, 2), and A. i. Introd. p. 49, § 31 c.

quanta . . . spe, &c., 'how great must be the hopes in the future of one who,' &c.; a condensed construction by which a modal abl. contains the predicate of the sentence: cp. 'leviore flagitio interficietis' ('levius flagitium erit si,' &c.), A. 1. 18, 5 (and note).

4. **tam magna**; somewhat stronger than 'tanta': cp. G. 37, 1, and several instances from various authors cited by Gudeman on Dial. 1, 7.

5. **animorum**, 'the sentiments': cp. H. 1. 29, 2; 3. 12, 2; A. 12. 16, 2, &c.: 'prudens' is so used in A. 3. 69, 8; H. 2. 25, 1.

6. **experimenta**: cp. c. 16, 4.

iniuriae: cp. c. 13, 1.

8. **domum**, his establishment, freedmen, slaves, &c. 'Primam' would mean 'before reforming those of others.'

9. **nihil per libertos**, &c. Such an omission of the verb of doing (cp. H. 1. 36, 3; 84, 1, &c.) is frequent in letters, and not rare in oratory, e. g. 'nihil per senatum, multa . . . per populum,' Cic. Phil. 1. 2, 6. The freedmen of the governor were, on a smaller scale, apt to resemble those of the emperor; and a reform promised by Nero at his outset is 'discretam domum et rempublicam' (A. 13. 4, 1).

10. **publicae rei**: cp. G. 13, 1.

studiis privatis, 'from his personal feeling'; the recommendation and entreaties mentioned in contrast being apparently those of others.

11. **centurionem**, &c. This correction is generally adopted by recent editors.

ascire, 'to take upon his staff'; usually with some explanatory word added, as H. 4. 24, 2; 80, 1 (where 'adscire' is read). Such military 'ministri' superintended the 'dilectus,' and had great opportunities of corrupt agency: cp. H. 4. 14, 2. Other notices of employment of privileged soldiers

quemque fidissimum putare. omnia scire, non omnia exsequi. 3
parvis peccatis veniam, magnis severitatem commodare; nec
poena semper, sed saepius paenitentia contentus esse; officiis
et administrationibus potius non peccaturos praeponere, quam
damnare cum peccassent. frumenti et tributorum exactionem 4
aequalitate munerum mollire, circumcisis quae in quaestum

1. fidelissimum P. 2. accommodare Ritt. 5. auctionē Γ, text Γ^m, exäctionem (äuctiones margin) Δ. 6. inaequalitate monerum Γ, munerum Γ^2 Δ, aequalitate P, aequitate Mur., et inaequalitatem Becker, inaequalitatem onerum Bährens.

('beneficiarii': see Mr. Purser, in D. of Ant. i. p. 804) in various services may be gathered from c. 15, 2; A. 14. 31, 2; Plin. ad Trai. 21 (32), 27 (36).

1. **fidissimum**, 'most trustworthy,' for special employment.

exsequi, 'to punish'; here alone in this sense in Tacitus, but often in Livy (3. 13, 3; 25, 8; 5. 11, 5), &c.

2. **commodare** (cp. c. 32, 2), here in an unusual neutral sense (= 'adhibere'). Walther compares instances, of which 'commodat illusis numina surda Venus' (Ov. Am. 1. 8, 86) is the nearest parallel. With 'magnis' the sense of 'tantum' would be supplied.

nec poena semper, sc. 'uti,' supplied from 'contentus esse.' The zeugma is unusually harsh, the sense to be supplied being so remote; but cp. 'sumpsit' from 'permisit' in A. 2. 20, 2, and others quoted by Peter. Walther would take 'poena' as nominative, supplying 'fuit' (a very awkward interpolation among the historical infinitives); W. takes 'nec (= "nec tamen") poena semper' with 'severitatem commodare,' which would make Tacitus use a construction almost certain to be mistaken.

3. **officiis**, 'functions,' such as those mentioned in note above.

4. **non peccaturos**, i.e. men of character: the fut. participle often expresses likelihood.

5. **frumenti**, &c. The whole passage to the end of the chapter is one of great difficulty, and is discussed at length by many commentators, especially by W. (Proleg. pp. 80–84); also by F. Hofmann ('de provinciali sumptu populi Romani,' Berlin, 1851), whose view is endorsed by Marquardt (Staatsv. ii. 103, n. 1) and Mommsen (Staatsr. i. 298). That the Britons, besides direct tribute in money, had to make payments in corn, is stated here and in c. 31, 2; but as there is no evidence that they paid any 'frumentum decumanum,' like the principal corn-growing provinces, we may assume that the reference is here to the 'frumentum aestimatum in cellam' (see Cic. Verr. iii. 81, 188, foll.), i.e. that allowed to the household and staff of the governor, and to that supplied to the troops (cp. 'proximis hibernis,' § 5); the regulations respecting which appear to have lain not with the procurator but the governor. Evidently it is with this alone that Agricola dealt, not with the 'tributum,' though the requisition of corn seems loosely called 'ipsum tributum' below. Britain was no doubt a country in which the supply of corn was scarce or plentiful according to locality; and we have apparently a description of the schemes adopted by previous governors for their profit in either case. When the people had not enough they had to wait the pleasure of the custodians of the imperial granaries, and actually to go through the form of buying, at whatever price was demanded, what would be at once re-delivered when bought, and in fact never left the granaries at all: where they had corn, they were ordered to deliver it at some great distance, and were thus induced to pay money to get excused from this vexatious and often needless transport.

exactionem; so nearly all edd. Some think 'auctionem' might refer to the increase of tribute general under Vespasian (Suet. Vesp. 16); but it is hardly possible to suppose that Tacitus would so use the word.

6. **aequalitate munerum**, 'by equalizing the contributions,' i.e. pro-

reperta ipso tributo gravius tolerabantur. namque per ludibrium adsidere clausis horreis et emere ultro frumenta ac ludere pretio cogebantur. divortia itinerum et longinquitas regionum indicebatur, ut civitates proximis hibernis in remota et avia deferrent, donec quod omnibus in promptu erat paucis lucrosum fieret.

2. ac ludere (with note of corruption in Γ^m) : ac vendere P, ac luere W, ac recludere Hutter, ac liceri Heraeus, auctiore Urlichs. 3. devortia L. 4. proximae Ritt., pro proximis Bezzenberger, Halm.

bably by taking account of local circumstances, and reducing the extortionate sums levied in lieu of corn, when corn was scarce, and thus producing a relative equality. This reading is generally adopted, but that of Bährens is certainly suggested by the first text of Γ, and could be taken as an enumerative asyndeton.

circumcisis, &c. (aorist), 'cutting off the devices for extortion.'

1. **per ludibrium**, 'in mockery': cp. A. 1. 10, 4; 2. 17, 9. The mockery consisted in the fiction of purchase and redelivery (see note above), and in their being kept waiting at the doors of granaries (cp. 'superbis adsidere liminibus,' Sen. Ep. 4, 10), which were not in fact to be opened to them. The trick of making people thus buy from his own procurator and his own granaries was practised by Verres (Verr. iii. 77, 178). See later instances in Marquardt, l. l.

2. **horreis**. Such imperial granaries are found not only in Egypt and Africa but in other provinces, and may probably have existed in all (see Marquardt, ii. 135). Where corn was not sent to Rome, they appear to have been a reserve for the needs of the province itself.

ultro = 'adeo,' or 'insuper'; 'even to buy' the corn to be treated as delivered when bought.

ac ludere. The only meaning that can be got from this text makes it further explain 'per ludibrium': 'they went through a farce with the price' (C. and B.). It is evident that Pomponius Laetus considered the words a corruption in his exemplar; but we have no means of restoring them with any certainty.

3. **divortia**, &c., 'circuitous routes and distant districts,' at which the corn was to be delivered. In Liv. 44. 2, 7, 'divortium itinerum' means a bifurcation of roads, and the word is used in A. 12. 63, 1, of a line of separation, and has nowhere the sense here required, though perhaps one akin to it in Verg. Aen. 9, 379 ('divortia nota'). Hence nearly all edd., except Ritter and Peter, have followed L., but it seems less open to objection to suppose that Tacitus has here used the word in an unprecedented sense than to invent an otherwise altogether unknown word, 'devortium.' A. thinks the abstract 'longinquitas' more forcible than 'longinquae regiones': his reference to 'spectaculorum antiquitas' (A. 14. 20, 4) is to a doubtful parallel. The device here alluded to is also one of those practised by Verres and other governors (Cic. Verr. 3. 82, 190).

4. **ut**, &c., perhaps this clause is best taken, with A., as depending on 'indicebatur' and explanatory of the nominatives.

proximis hibernis, 'even when there was a winter camp close by.' This meaning seems sufficiently possible to make the alteration of the text needless.

5. **donec**, &c., 'till a service easy to all (i. e. in which there need have been no difficulty on either side) should become profitable to a few,' by bribes received to escape this needless transport. This sense of 'in promptu' is supported by Ov. M. 2, 86; 13, 161. Tacitus has it once elsewhere (H. 5. 5, 2), with the meaning 'in readiness.' W. takes the words 'quod . . . erat' as a parenthesis, with the sense 'which was manifest to all,' supplying a general

20. Haec primo statim anno comprimendo egregiam famam
paci circumdedit, quae vel incuria vel intolerantia priorum
haud minus quam bellum timebatur. sed ubi aestas advenit, 2
contracto exercitu multus in agmine, laudare modestiam,
disiectos coërcere; loca castris ipse capere, aestuaria ac silvas
ipse praetemptare; et nihil interim apud hostis quietum pati,
quo minus subitis excursibus popularetur; atque ubi satis
terruerat, parcendo rursus invitamenta pacis ostentare. quibus 3
rebus multae civitates, quae in illum diem ex aequo egerant,
datis obsidibus iram posuere, et praesidiis castellisque circum-

4. $\text{mult}\overset{m}{\text{us}}$ Γ, multum Δ, multus Urs. 7. $\text{popular}\bar{\text{e}}\text{t}$ Δ. 8. $\text{in}\overset{c}{\text{r}}\text{ita}$-menta Γ, irritamenta Δ, text Acid., L.

subject to 'fieret'; but such a parenthetical remark seems very weak and needless.

1. **famam . . . circumdedit**, imitated from the Greek use of *περιβάλλειν* or *περιτιθέναι*: see instances in Gudeman on Dial. 37, 27.

2. **intolerantia**, 'arbitrariness,' want of self-control; so in Cic. Clu. 40, 112, &c.; cp. note on 'intolerantior,' A. 3. 45, 4.

3. **timebatur**: cp. 'pacem nostram metuebant' (A. 12. 33, 2), and the sentiment in c. 30, 6.

aestas, that of 832, A.D. 79. On the probable direction of this and subsequent campaigns see Introd. pp. 39, foll.

4. **multus in agmine**, 'present everywhere on the march,' imitated from Sallust's description of Sulla (Jug. 96, 3), 'in agmine . . . multus adesse' (cp. also id. 84, 1): cp. 'frequens ubique,' c. 37, 4; also A. 13. 35, 7; H. 5. 1, 2, and many adverbial uses of adjectives.

modestiam, 'discipline' (so in A. 1. 29, 1; 35, 1; 49, 6, &c.), abstract for concrete, answering chiastically to 'disiectos.'

5. **disiectos**, 'stragglers from the ranks'; so of disordered troops in A. 2. 45, 3; 6. 44, 4; H. 3. 22, 2; 69, 2.

aestuaria, 'tidal creeks' (cp. c. 33, 5; A. 2. 8, 3, &c.). On the indication of locality by this word see Introd. p. 40.

6. **praetemptare**, 'explored'; so in poets and Plin. mai.

interim, while keeping his own troops in discipline.

nihil . . . quietum pati, from Sall. Jug. 66, 1; so 'nihil tutum pati,' Sall. and Livy.

7. **quo minus**, with the force of 'quin' as an epexegetic adversative conjunction; so often in Tacitus: see c. 27, 3; A. 1. 21, 4, and note; Dr. S. u. S. § 187; Gudeman on Dial. 3, 5 and 15, where an instance is given from Cic. de Or. 1. 16, 70.

excursibus, divergences from the line of march.

8. **rursus**, 'on the other hand': cp. c. 29, 1; A. 1. 80, 3, and note; H. 1, 2, &c.

invitamenta pacis. Till lately, it was assumed that the only alternative to this reading was 'irritamenta'; but the discovery of the correction in Γ² may give preference to 'incitamenta.' 'Invitamentum' occurs nowhere else in Tacitus, both the other words several times; on the other hand, we should use 'incitari' or 'inritari' rather of motives prompting to do something than to accept something, whereas peace personified might well be said 'invitare,' and persons 'invitari ad pacem,' and 'invitamentum,' though not a common word, is used in Cicero and Livy.

9. **ex aequo egerant**, 'had lived independent.' 'Ex aequo' is so used in H. 4. 64, 5, Liv. 7. 30, 2, and Plin. mai.; elsewhere it has rather the adverbial force of 'equally' (cp. A. 13. 2, 2; 15. 13, 4, and notes): cp. the similar Graecism 'ex facili,' c. 15, 1.

10. **praesidiis**, &c. On this military

datae sunt tanta ratione curaque, ut nulla ante Britanniae nova pars *pariter* illacessita transierit.

21. Sequens hiems saluberrimis consiliis absumpta. namque ut homines dispersi ac rudes eoque in bella faciles quieti et otio per voluptates adsuescerent, hortari privatim, adiuvare publice, ut templa fora domos extruerent, laudando promptos et castigando segnes: ita honoris aemulatio pro
2 necessitate erat. iam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus

1. et tanta: tanta R, Halm., sunt tanta Bährens, et tanta r. c. habitae Ritt. 2. pariter ins. Fröhlich, Weissenborn, ita, sic, tam, perinde, al.; pars. Illacessita transiit sequens hiems Susius. 3. adsumpta: text R. 4. in bello: bello R, L, K, text Bosius.

practice, and on the supposition that the line occupied was that from Tyne to Solway, see Introd. p. 42.

1. **tanta**, &c. The above reading of the text adopts Bährens' suggestion that an abbreviation of 'sunt,' such as 'š̃t,' could easily have been corrupted into 'et,' and takes 'pariter' as the adverb of comparison most likely to have dropped out after 'pars.' The meaning would thus be that these tribes were surrounded by outposts laid out with such forethought and skill that no new tribe that ever came over to the Romans (cp. 'transire,' 'transitio,' Liv. 26. 12, 5; H. 3. 61, 1) was so little harassed. 'Illacessita' (a new word here and in G. 36, 1) would best refer to the attacks which those who thus submitted would usually sustain from independent tribes on their frontier who regarded them as traitors (see Introd. l. l. n. 3), from which in this case the thoroughness of the fortifications protected them. If we read a full stop after 'pars,' and 'Illacessita transiit . . . hiems,' 'tanta . . . ut' has to be taken as 'tanta . . . quanta,' a possible construction (cp. Nep. Ages. 4, 2), but one apparently avoided elsewhere by Tacitus and generally rare (cp. Nipp. on A. 15. 20, 1).

3. **absumpta.** The error of the manuscripts here is similar to that of Med. II. in H. 2. 21, 4. On this policy of Agricola see Introd. p. 52.

4. **dispersi**, living separately, like the Germans (G. 16, 1). Their few towns were in Caesar's time rather places of temporary refuge than of residence. See Introd. p. 33. It is probable that the northern tribes are here especially spoken of.

eoque = 'ideoque'; so often in Tacitus (cp. c. 22, 3; 28, 2; G. 6, 4, &c.), as in Sall. and Liv.

faciles = 'proni': the expression so read seems a reminiscence of Ov. A. A. 1, 592 ('faciles ad fera bella manus'); cp. also A. 14. 4, 2 and note, Ov. Her. 16, 280.

5. **quieti et otio**: cp. c. 6, 3.

privatim . . . publice, probably best taken (with G. G. Lex.) to mean 'by personal (i. e. unofficial) encouragement and public assistance' (i. e. from public funds). A. takes it to mean 'as individuals,' 'as communities': cp. G. 10, 2; A. 11. 17, 4, &c.

6. **templa.** We only know of one in Britain before this date, that to Claudius at Camulodunum (A. 14. 31, 6).

fora, 'market-places': such are found in all towns built on the Roman type, and round them the chief public buildings were grouped.

domos, 'mansions'; so used in contrast to the blocks of inferior dwellings ('insulae') in A. 6. 45, 1; 15. 41, 1. Such places as the Roman villas now traceable in Britain would fall under the term (see Introd. p. 52).

laudando . . . castigando: cp. H. 2. 48, 3.

7. **honoris**, &c., 'competition for honour (that of being praised) did the work of compulsion.'

8. **iam vero**, 'further' (c. 9, 3).

principum: cp. c. 12, 1.

erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent. inde etiam habitus nostri honor et frequens 3
toga. paulatimque discessum ad delenimenta vitiorum, porticus et balinea et conviviorum elegantiam. idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset.

22. Tertius expeditionum annus novas gentis aperuit,

4. descensum Pichena, Halm. delinimenta Γ, deliniamenta Δ, text Dronke.
5. balnea Γ, balneas Δ, balinea Halm, balineas Ritt.

1. **ingenia**, &c., generally taken to mean that he 'showed a preference for British abilities over Gallic study'; i. e. flattered them by saying that their native wit would do for them what diligent culture did for the Gauls. But such variations of expression in Tacitus must not be always pressed; and in the very parallel passage in Dial. 1, 4, 'qui nostrorum temporum eloquentiam antiquorum ingeniis anteferret,' no contrast between 'eloquentia' and 'ingenium' seems intended, but 'the achievements of the ancients and the moderns from both points of view are reciprocally compared' (Gudeman); and A. seems rightly to think a similar meaning here intended. Tacitus might have said simply 'ingenia Britannorum Gallis anteferre'; but he wished also to bring in the point that the Gaulish natural gift had been cultivated and the British had not, and to persuade the Britons to cultivate it, not to tell them that they were so good as not to need culture. He would say that the Britons had a natural capacity superior to that of the Gauls, which however had been developed by training, and that they only needed the same training to make them better orators. The obscurity is due to the straining after conciseness. The premium set on eloquence in Gaul is noted in Juv. 7, 148; on its spread thence to Britain see Introd. p. 53, n. 1.

2. **abnuebant.** On such interpositions of the indicative see A. i. Introd. p. 56, § 49. Such clauses have the force of a noun.

3. **habitus**, here 'dress' (explained by 'frequens toga'), as in several places (c. 39, 2; G. 17, 3; 1. 48, 4; A. 1. 69, 5, &c.), though oftener in a wider sense (c. 11, 2; 44, 2, &c.). The genit. explains 'honos,' 'the distinction of wearing our dress' (came in); i.e. it became a distinction to do so.

4. **discessum**, 'they were led aside'; so 'discedere ab officio,' 'a fide' (Cic. Off. 1. 10, 32; 3. 20, 79). 'Descensum' would be more usual, but no alteration is needed.

delenimenta vitiorum (cp. 'delenimenta curarum,' 'vitae,' A. 2. 33, 5; 15. 63, 3), whatever made vice attractive (cp. 'vitiis blandientibus,' c. 16, 4), 'allurements to vice' or vicious luxuries.

5. **balinea.** Ritter's reading is approved by Wölfflin (Philol. xxv. 104), as the manuscripts of Tacitus elsewhere recognize only the forms 'balineae' (once 'balneae') and 'balneum.' Dio (62, 6, 4) makes Boudicca deride warm baths as a Roman effeminacy. The greatest remains of Roman baths in Britain are those of Aquae Sulis (Bath).

idque, referring to all these innovations. An attraction would be usual in classical Latin, (as 'is . . . honos' in c. 46, 2): cp. 'illud,' c. 43, 2.

apud, 'in the judgement of': cp. c. 18, 3; 22, 4; A. 1. 9, 3, &c.

6. **humanitas**, 'civilization': cp. 'a cultu atque humanitate . . . longissime absunt,' Caes. B. G. 1. 1, 3.

pars, 'a characteristic of'; so 'pars ignaviae,' 'obsequii' (H. 2. 47, 6; 4. 86, 1), &c. This Roman method of enervating subjects is alluded to in H. 4. 64, 5; G. 23, 2. Similar ignoble rules of policy are stated in A. 12. 48, 3; G. 33, 2, &c.

7. **Tertius**, A. D. 80: 'annus' personified, as in c. 7, 1.

novas gentis: cp. c. 34, 1; 38, 4. It seems implied that the 'Britanniae nova pars' of the former year (c. 20, 3)

vastatis usque ad Tanaum (aestuario nomen est) nationibus. qua formidine territi hostes quamquam conflictatum saevis tempestatibus exercitum lacessere non ausi; ponendisque
2 insuper castellis spatium fuit. adnotabant periti non alium ducem opportunitates locorum sapientius legisse; nullum ab Agricola positum castellum aut vi hostium expugnatum aut pactione ac fuga desertum; nam adversus moras obsidionis
3 annuis copiis firmabantur. ita intrepida ibi hiems, crebrae

1. Taum Γ^{m}, Taus sive Tanaus marginal index Γ, Tavum Glück, Tavam Nipp. 4. telis Γ^{m}. 6. aut fuga Δ. 7. desertum: crebrae eruptiones: [crebr. er.] W, transp. Halm.

was still within limits already known to the Romans, such as perhaps those of the Brigantes.

aperuit, 'opened up'; so 'quos bellum aperuit' (G. 1, 1): cp. H. 2. 17, 1; 4. 64, 4; A. 2. 70, 4.

1. **vastatis**, aoristic: the term is used of people in a few places in Tacitus (H. 2. 16, 4; 87, 5; A. 14. 23, 4; 38, 2; 15. 1, 2), and 'devastare' in Livy (23. 42, 5, &c.).

Tanaum. This name cannot be identified. Many adopt the reading 'Taum,' and suppose the Frith of Tay (*Ταούα εἴσχυσις*, Ptol. 2. 3, 5) to be meant; but it is very unlikely that he had got so far thus early in his campaigns. Others think it may be the mouth of the Tweed (which is hardly to be called an estuary), or (see Merivale, vii. 84) that it may be another name for the Frith of Forth ('Bodotria,' c. 33, 2), or part of it, as perhaps the mouth of the Scottish Tyne, near Dunbar. If his advance may be supposed to be along the western coast (see Introd. p. 40), we have more 'aestuaria' to choose from, and, in particular, the name of the Solway Frith in Ptol. 2. 3, 2 (*'Ιτοῦνα εἴσχυσις*; v. l. *'Ιτουναὶς χύσις*, *'Ιτουηαὶς χύσις*), might have come to be read somewhat as here given. But if the Solway were meant, Tacitus must have misconceived its position in making it the furthest point reached in an expedition through 'novae gentes,' and not materially surpassed in the following summer, 'obtinendis quae percucurrerat insumpta' (c. 23, 1), in which the line of the Clyde and Forth was certainly reached. It is possible that the Celtic 'Tan' ('running water') may have formed part of many names now lost.

aestuario, &c.: for the parenthesis, cp. c. 7, 1, &c.

2. **conflictatum,** 'harassed'; so 'hieme conflictatus' (H. 3. 59, 3), &c.

4. **spatium,** 'time to spare': cp. A. 1. 35, 7. These 'castella' must have been on his route northward, but there is no indication of their position.

adnotabant periti, a phrase repeated in A. 12. 25, 4; H. 3. 37, 3; with reference to antiquarians, as here to military experts.

non alium: cp. 'non alias,' c. 5, 3.

5. **opportunitates locorum,** 'suitable sites,' for 'opportuna loca': cp. 'longinquitas regionum,' c. 19, 5.

7. **pactione ac fuga,** 'by capitulation and (consequent) evacuation': we should rather have expected 'vel fuga.'

nam, with this reading (see note below), the meaning would be that, as the selection of strong and defensible positions protected the forts against being stormed or forced to capitulate, the store of provisions made it useless to blockade them. Peter points out that the meaning is as if he had said 'de moris obsidionis non loquor, nam,' &c.

8. **annuis copiis,** 'provision to last a year': for this use of 'annuus' cp. A. 3. 71, 3; 13. 43, 2, &c.; for that of 'copiae,' G. 30, 3; H. 4. 22, 2, &c.

intrepida ibi hiems, 'winter brought no fear with it.' A. compares 'ne mare quidem securum,' c. 30, 1.

crebrae eruptiones. The transposition of these words to this place is a violent remedy; but their retention where the manuscripts place them makes it very difficult to find a satis-

eruptiones et sibi quisque praesidio, irritis hostibus eoque
desperantibus, quia soliti plerumque damna aestatis hibernis
eventibus pensare tum aestate atque hieme iuxta pellebantur.
nec Agricola umquam per alios gesta avidus intercepit: seu **4**
centurio seu praefectus incorruptum facti testem habebat.
apud quosdam acerbior in conviciis narrabatur, ut erat comis
bonis, ita adversus malos iniucundus. ceterum ex iracundia **5**
nihil supererat secretum, ut silentium eius non timeres:
honestius putabat offendere quam odisse.

23. Quarta aestas obtinendis quae percucurrerat insumpta;

4. auidius Δ. 6. conuiuiis Γ, conuiuiis Δ, text P. et erat ut Henrichsen, Halm. 8. supererat secretum, ut Γ and Doed., no stop Δ, supererat, secretum ut W, secretum et P, secretum vel (aut Haase, ac al.) silentium F. Jacob, [vel silentium] Nipp. 10. percurrerat Δ.

factory meaning, as 'nam' cannot apparently have any reference to them; and if they are bracketed or omitted it is difficult to explain their insertion, as they can hardly be an explanatory gloss (which may be also said of the proposal to bracket 'nam . . . firmabantur'). As they stand here, they are somewhat supported by 'hieme . . . pellebantur' below.

1. **sibi quisque praesidio**, i.e. none stood in need of any help from outside.

irritis, 'baffled'; so used of persons in poets and post-Augustan prose: cp. A. 3. 21, 6, &c.

3. **eventibus**, 'successes': cp. c. 8, 2; 27, 2; A. 2. 26, 3 (and note).

pensare, 'to counterbalance': cp. A. 2. 26, 1, &c., a post-Augustan use for 'compensare.'

iuxta, 'alike,' an adverbial use mainly founded on Sall., frequent in Hist. and Ann., but here alone in the minor works.

4. **intercepit**, 'took credit to himself for.' Dr. notes the use of 'honos interceptus' in Cic. Leg. Agr. 2. 2, 3. 'Avidus' is adverbial.

5. **habebat**, 'used to have in him.'

6. **apud**: cp. c. 21, 3.

ut erat, 'as in fact he was': 'ita,' 'on the other hand' (cp. c. 6, 4; 32, 1; 33, 5, &c.). Henrichsen's reading would resemble c. 10, 4; A. 2. 57, 2 ('et erat clementior'), but is not needed.

comis bonis. Such a dat. resembles that with 'mitior' in c. 16, 3, and is varied to the accus. with 'adversus,' as in H. 1. 35, 2. 'Iniucundus' is here alone in Tacitus; and is generally used of things.

7. **ceterum**, &c., 'but none of his resentment remained stored up in his mind, so that (cp. c. 12, 3) you need not fear (potential as H. 2. 62, 1, &c.) his silence'; i.e. that his saying no more meant that he was brooding over his grievance, with a view to future vengeance. This reading not only has the best authority, but seems to make the best sense. To put a comma after 'supererat,' and take 'secretum' as an epithet of 'silentium' seems to make the former word surplusage, while the alteration of 'ut' to 'aut' or 'vel' seems to contrast two words almost synonymous; so that many who adopt such a reading incline to bracket 'vel silentium' as a gloss. A contrast is evidently suggested to Domitian, who 'secreto suo satiatus, optimum statuit reponere odium' (c. 39, 4): cp. 'quo obscurior, eo inrevocabilior' (c. 42, 4).

9. **offendere**, 'to give offence,' by open rebuke: cp. 'dum offendimus' (A. 15. 21, 4), &c. It is thus contrasted with 'odisse' ('to harbour dislike').

10. **Quarta**, A.D. 81. On Sept. 13, in this year, Titus was succeeded by Domitian.

obtinendis, 'securing' by military occupation: cp. c. 24, 3, and 'percur-

ac si virtus exercituum et Romani nominis gloria pateretur,
2 inventus in ipsa Britannia terminus. namque Clota et Bodotria diversi maris aestibus per inmensum revectae, angusto terrarum spatio dirimuntur: quod tum praesidiis firmabatur atque omnis propior sinus tenebatur, summotis velut in aliam insulam hostibus.

24. Quinto expeditionum anno nave prima transgressus

1. gloria om. Δ. 7. navi in proxima Rigler, W, nave primum Boot, vere primo Becker, in Clotae proxima Nipp., maritima Urlichs.

sando quae obtineri nequibant' (A. 15. 8, 3), &c. The gerundive dative of purpose (so used with 'insumo' in A. 2. 53, 2; 3. 1, 1; 16. 23, 1) occurs in the minor writings twice only with verbs (here and c. 31, 3), and once with an adjective (G. 11, 2). Some thirteen instances are found in Hist., it is abundant in Ann. See A. i. Introd. p. 46, § 22.

1. **pateretur.** A. notes that the imperf. is used because the words were still applicable when he wrote.

2. **inventus**, sc. 'erat' (with the force of 'esset'), which Halm inclines to insert.

in ipsa Britannia, probably to be taken (with A.) as meaning 'citra finem Britanniae.' The line drawn is nearly that separating Britannia proper from Caledonia (cp. c. 10, 4), but the former term is generally used for the whole.

Clota et Bodotria. The Clyde and Forth. On the length of this line and on the works occupying it see Introd. p. 43, n. 7. The estuary of the former has the same name in Ptol. 2. 3, 1; the latter is his Βοδερία εἴσχυσις (2. 3, 5). The former name is connected with that of a Celtic river goddess, and perhaps with 'cluo,' κλύζω; the latter perhaps reappears in the Bdora of Geog. Rav. 438, 6. See Holder.

3. **aestibus**, &c., 'receding far inland by tides from opposite seas': for the sense of 'diversus' cp. c. 11, 2, and note, also 'diversa maria,' Liv. 21. 30, 2; 40. 22, 5: for 'per inmensum,' A. 15. 40, 1.

4. **firmabatur**, 'was being securely held': cp. 'firmatis praesidiis' (c. 14, 4, and note).

5. **omnis propior sinus**, 'the whole sweep of country nearer' (i.e. southward): 'sinus' is so used in G. 37, 1; A. 4. 5, 4, and in Livy and Plin. mai., and has sometimes no reference to sea-coast, thus probably here including the interior as well as the sea-board.

in aliam insulam, the tract of Caledonia, wholly cut off by the occupation of the isthmus.

7. **Quinto**, A.D. 82.

nave prima. This has been generally taken to mean 'in the first ship that crossed,' i.e. as soon as navigation was practicable, in the early spring. The order of the words is (in the absence of any special ground of emphasis) against taking 'prima' adjectively (cp. 'primis navibus,' Bell. Al. 15, 3), and it might more possibly be accus. pl., as Mr. Haverfield (Class. Rev. ix. 310) suggests, with the meaning that he crossed by sea as regards the first part of his journey, instead of going round by land. It is also suggested (see Gudeman) that 'prima' as abl. sing. might be taken with the force of 'primum': cp. G. 43, 6; A. 14. 10, 2, &c. It is possible that the text is corrupt, but none of the many emendations have won general acceptance. For reasons against the supposition that this crossing was to Ireland, see Introd. p. 45, where it is also shown (p. 46, n. 4) that if we suppose the expedition to have been across the Firth of Clyde, we should not take the collection of troops with a view to an invasion of Ireland to have been in the same locality.

transgressus. In the absence of other explanation, this should naturally be understood in relation to the 'terminus' of c. 23, 1, the line of the two friths and the isthmus ('velut alia insula').

ignotas ad id tempus gentis crebris simul ac prosperis proeliis domuit; eamque partem Britanniae quae Hiberniam aspicit copiis instruxit, in spem magis quam ob formidinem, si quidem Hibernia medio inter Britanniam atque Hispaniam sita et Gallico quoque mari opportuna valentissimam imperii partem magnis in vicem usibus miscuerit. spatium eius, si Britanniae **2**
comparetur, angustius, nostri maris insulas superat. solum caelumque et ingenia cultusque hominum haud multum a Britannia differunt: in melius aditus portusque per com-

3. intruxit Γ, text Δ. in formidinem Δ. 9. differt : in melius: differunt, melius R, differt (or differunt) in melius, aditus al. [in melius] W, A, differunt, interiora parum, melius Halm, text Ritt., who supplies interiora nondum explorata sunt, melius. et (for per) Δ.

1. **ignotas ad id tempus**: cp. the expression in c. 10, 5.

2. **quae Hiberniam aspicit**, 'which faces Ireland': cp. 'mari quod Hiberniam insulam aspectat' (A. 12. 32, 3), 'qua . . . Pannoniam aspicit' (G. 5, 1): 'Spectare' is more commonly so used. On the forms of the name, Hibernia, Ierne, Iuverna, see note on Ann. l. l.; and on the locality probably occupied by this force see Introd. l. l.

3. **in spem**, &c., 'with a view to hope (of invading it) rather than by reason of fear': for the contrast of 'in' and 'ob' cp. c. 5, 2; and for 'in spem,' A. 14. 15, 8, and note.

si quidem (used by Tacitus only here and in G. 30, 1), 'since,' 'inasmuch as.'

4. **medio**, often so used by Tacitus (A. 2. 52, 6, &c.), who also uses many other such local ablatives (A. i. Introd. p. 47, § 25). On the geographical conception see c. 10, 2.

et . . . quoque: cp. H. 1. 30, 7; A. 4. 7, 4, &c., a combination found in and after Livy: see Dr. S. u. S. § 121.

5. **opportuna**, 'within easy reach of': cp. 'insula . . . Thraeciae opportuna,' A. 3. 38, 3. Tacitus no doubt regarded the south coast of Ireland as much nearer to Gaul than it is: see note on c. 10, 2.

valentissimam imperii partem. Gaul and Spain are called 'validissimam terrarum partem' in H. 3. 53, 5; probably as great military recruiting districts: perhaps here Britain also is included.

6. **magnis in vicem usibus**, 'with great mutual advantages.' The adjectival use of 'in vicem' (cp. G. 37, 3; H. 1. 65, 1; 4. 37, 4) is adopted by Tacitus from Livy (3. 71, 2; 10. 11, 7). For a somewhat different use cp. c. 16, 1.

miscuerit, probably best taken, with Peter, as fut. exact., expressing what will happen whenever it shall have been conquered. K. and others take it as potential. In either case it expresses the judgement of the writer.

spatium, its extent.

7. **nostri maris**, the Mediterranean.

8. **a Britannia**, 'from those in Britain': cp. c. 12, 3, and note; G. 46, 2; Gudeman on Dial. 14, 12; Dr. S. u. S. § 239.

9. **differunt.** The singular cannot satisfactorily be defended where 'ingenia cultusque' are so closely coupled as the nearest subject. As regards the much vexed text of the following words, 'in melius,' if taken (according to the MSS. punctuation) with 'cogniti,' gives no intelligible meaning, and, if taken with 'differunt,' would assert, as regards the civilization of the Irish people, the opposite of what Tacitus is likely to have said. It is perhaps possible, by omitting 'in,' to take 'melius . . . cogniti' (with Bährens) to mean that the coast and harbours were better known than the country in general (to which the description in the previous sentence applies); but it seems more probable that some words are lost giving some such sense as that suggested by Halm or Ritter.

per commercia: cp. c. 28, 5; G.

mercia et negotiatores cogniti. Agricola expulsum seditione domestica unum ex regulis gentis exceperat ac specie amicitiae in occasionem retinebat. saepe ex eo audivi legione una et modicis auxiliis debellari obtinerique Hiberniam posse; idque etiam adversus Britanniam profuturum, si Romana ubique arma et velut e conspectu libertas tolleretur.

25. Ceterum aestate, qua sextum officii annum incohabat, amplexus civitates trans Bodotriam sitas, quia motus universarum ultra gentium et infesta hostibus exercitus itinera timebantur, portus classe exploravit; quae ab Agricola primum adsumpta in partem virium sequebatur egregia specie,

9. hostilis: hostili exercitu (exercitui Peerlk.) R, text Becker, [hostilis exercitus] Selling, [hostilis] Url. 10. timebant: text P, timebat Ritt. tum primum Prammer. 11. species Mützell.

24, 4. This evidence of early Roman trade with Ireland is of great interest, and seems to show an intercourse resembling that between Rome and Britain in the time of Augustus (see Strab. 4. 5, 3, 200). On the Irish metallurgy see Introd. p. 45; also a paper by Mr. A. J. Evans (Archaeologia, vol. lv. pp. 397-408), describing (with other things) a splendid gold collar recently found on the north-west coast of Ireland, and considered to be native work of the first century A.D., in other words, of the date here spoken of.

1. **expulsum seditione domestica** (cp. H. 4. 12, 2), &c. This had had its counterpart in the reception of exiled British princes by Augustus (Mon. Anc. 5. 54; 6. 2), Gaius (Suet. Cal. 54), and Claudius (Dio, 60. 19, 1).

3. **in occasionem**: cp. H. 1. 80, 4; 2. 7, 3; i.e. to make use of him, if he should invade the island.

ex eo. For a similar reference to Agricola's own testimony cp. c. 4, 4. Some wrongly take 'eo' here of the Irish prince.

4. **debellari**: cp. c. 26, 4; 34, 1, &c.; a word frequent in Livy, who adopts it from Vergil and Horace.

5. **adversus**; i.e. in the Roman relations towards: cp. c. 12, 2.

6. **arma**, sc. 'essent,' the tense suggested by 'tolleretur.'

7. **Ceterum**, marking the return from a digression, as in G. 3. 3; H. 4. 6, 4; A. 1. 10, 8, &c.

sextum, A.D. 83: for 'annum incohare,' cp. H. 1. 11, 5.

8. **amplexus**: cp. c. 17, 2. Here it rather means 'comprehending in his plans.'

quia, &c., probably best taken as explaining 'portus classe exploravit': the dangers menacing his route by land led him to support his advance by the fleet.

9. **ultra**, used as an adjective; cp. c. 10, 2 (and note); 24, 1, &c.

infesta hostibus exercitus itinera. This text is supported by 'infestas hostibus vias' (Suet. Aug. 8): cp. 'insulas saxis . . . infestas' (A. 2. 23, 3). The manuscript text is defended by K and W, who take it to mean 'the perils of the march of an army in hostile fashion'; whereby 'hostilis' becomes weak and superfluous. The alternative 'hostili exercitu' is open to the objection that a Roman writer would hardly call such a gathering as that of the Caledonians an 'exercitus.'

10. **timebantur.** The abbreviation denoting the final syllable of similar words has been often lost in MSS.

11. **adsumpta in partem virium**, 'taken up to form part of his force' (cp. the expression in c. 13, 4). A 'classis Britannica' is mentioned in A.D. 70 (H. 4. 79, 3), and probably existed in some form from the first invasion; but it would appear to have been pre-

cum simul terra, simul mari bellum impelleretur, ac saepe
isdem castris pedes equesque et nauticus miles mixti copiis
et laetitia sua quisque facta, suos casus attollerent, ac modo
silvarum ac montium profunda, modo tempestatum ac fluc-
tuum adversa, hinc terra et hostis, hinc victus Oceanus
militari iactantia compararentur. Britannos quoque, ut ex 2
captivis audiebatur, visa classis obstupefaciebat, tamquam
aperto maris sui secreto ultimum victis perfugium clauderetur.
ad manus et arma conversi Caledoniam incolentes populi, 3

1. impellitur: text R. 2. iisdem: isdem in Ritt. 9. igitur ad manus Bährens. Calidoniam (cp. c. 10, 11) incolentis.

viously used rather as a means of transport and supply, and by Agricola first as an essential branch of the attack. Its chief permanent station appears from inscriptions to have been at 'portus Lemanis,' Lymne in Kent. It appears from c. 28 that Agricola had also ships on the west coast.

1. **simul . . . simul**; so in c. 36, 1; 41, 4, &c. after Vergil and Livy: cp. Dr. S. u. S. § 125.

impelleretur, 'was urged forward' (a new phrase, akin to the sense in c. 10, 6, and perhaps suggested by mention of ships). The manuscript text might easily be a corruption from neglecting an abbreviation; and W.'s explanation of it, making 'cum . . . impellitur' the protasis, to which 'ac . . . attollerent, ac . . . compararentur' is appended, with 'Britannos . . . clauderetur' as a parenthesis, and the apodosis not beginning until 'ad manus,' gives a most involved construction: while the change of both mood and tense, in a clause so closely coupled as 'ac . . . attollerent' seems impossible, though somewhat arbitrary changes of mood alone are certainly found (cp. Weissenb. on Liv. 28. 33, 10).

2. **pedes equesque**, coupled closely as the land force: 'isdem castris' is local abl.

mixti copiis et laetitia. The participle appears to be best taken not quite as in c. 4, 3, but rather as in H. 1. 9, 5 ('nec vitiis nec viribus miscebantur'); the ablatives expressing that in respect of which they were 'mixti inter se,' 'sharing their rations and exultation.' For such a coupling of different ideas A. compares 'nox et satietas' (c. 37, 6), &c.

3. **attollerent** = 'extollerent,' as in several places in Hist. (1. 70, 2, &c.).

4. **profunda**, 'the ravines,' where danger would lurk. The substantival use of neuter plural adjectives, often (as here) with a quasi-partitive genitive following, is very common in Tacitus: see A. i. Introd. pp. 43, 50, §§ 4 c, 32 b.

5. **hinc . . . hinc**, for 'hinc, illinc,' in Verg. (Aen. 1, 500; 9, 440) and afterwards.

victus, supplied also in thought with 'terra et hostis.' The true text of the manuscript, corrupted by P. into 'auctus,' was restored as a conjecture by L.

6. **iactantia**: cp. c. 39, 1, &c.; a word not apparently found earlier than Quint. and Plin. mi. The classical 'iactatio' is also used, but only in the minor works (c. 5, 2; 42, 4; G. 6, 2).

Britannos quoque . . . obstupefaciebat; i.e. 'the sight of the fleet affected them also, but with stupefaction.' A. notes the similar conciseness in 'gignit et . . . margaritas,' c. 12, 6.

7. **tamquam**, expressing their thought, 'as though, by the disclosure of the recesses (c. 31, 4, &c.) of their sea, their last refuge was closed against them.' The ingenious verbal contrast of 'aperto' and 'clauderetur' leads to some confusion in the metaphor. Peter suggests that an oxymoron may be intended.

9. **ad manus et arma**, virtually synonyms (c. 33, 5), the latter word defining the former. A. gives other passages (H. 2. 88, 5; 3. 10, 5; A. 16. 26, 2, &c.) in which 'ferrum,' 'tela,'

paratu magno, maiore fama, uti mos est de ignotis, oppugnare ultro castella adorti, metum ut provocantes addiderant; regrediendumque citra Bodotriam et excedendum potius quam pellerentur ignavi specie prudentium admonebant, cum interim cognoscit hostis pluribus agminibus irrupturos. ac ne superante numero et peritia locorum circumiretur, diviso et ipse in tris partes exercitu incessit.

4 rim cognoscit hostis pluribus agminibus irrupturos.

26. Quod ubi cognitum hosti, mutato repente consilio universi nonam legionem ut maxime invalidam nocte adgressi,

1. oppugnasse: text R. 2. castellā^{ur} Γ, castella Δ. 6. circumirentur L. 9. noctē Δ, noctu Ritt.

'ictus' are thus joined with 'manus.' We should expect the sentence to be introduced by 'igitur,' as it probably would have been at a time when the style of Tacitus was more formed.

Caledoniam incolentes populi: cp. c. 11, 2. The 'Caledonii,' as a distinct tribe, appear first in Ptol. 2. 3, 12.

1. **paratu**, used for 'apparatus' here alone (cp. G. 14, 4; 23, 1; Dial. 22, 4; 32, 4) in the minor writings, several times in Hist., and always (except 2. 69, 3) in Ann.

uti mos, &c., applying only to 'maiore fama': cp. 'omne ignotum pro magnifico,' c. 30, 4.

oppugnare, &c. The phrase 'oppugnare castella adorti' is from Livy (35. 51, 8; 43. 21, 4, &c.); 'ultro' implies an offensive movement. It is not necessary to suppose, with A., that forts had been built beyond the line of the Clyde and Forth; as they may have attacked these lines themselves, to draw away the invading army. Perhaps (see crit. note) some one fort only was menaced.

2. **metum**, &c., 'had created the more panic, as taking the offensive.'

3. **quam** = 'quam ut.' This construction, especially after a fut., is found in Sall. and oftener in Livy: see notes on A. 1. 35, 5; 13. 42, 8; 14. 21, 3.

5. **cognoscit**: to leave the subject to be supplied from 'et ipse' below is very harsh; and possibly some word may have dropped out, though not, as Ritt. thinks, between 'cum' and 'interim,' as these are always closely joined (H. 1. 60, 2; 2. 76, 8; Sall. Jug. 12, 5; 49, 5, &c.).

pluribus = 'compluribus,' as in c. 29, 2, and often. The modal ablative (see A. i. Introd. p. 48, § 28) is used much in describing military formations: cp. 'ordinibus' (c. 37, 5, &c.), 'catervis' (A. 4. 51, 1), 'cuneis' (H. 3. 29, 2), &c.

ne . . . circumiretur. Lest the combined force, or any portion of the force, of the enemy should get round to attack his rear, he divides his own army, so as to cover a larger area, and check their advance in all directions. From the threefold division of his army, and from the isolation of his weakest legion, the Ninth, it has been inferred that Agricola had only three legions, each of which formed the nucleus of a division. It is no doubt possible that the 'Secunda adiutrix' had been already withdrawn (see Introd. p. 37), or that a legion had to be left behind somewhere in garrison; but we cannot assume that the three divisions were all of equal, or nearly equal strength. The various ingenious conjectures (see Skene, p. 48, foll., &c.) as to the sites of these camps are all without confirmatory evidence.

6. **et ipse**, 'himself also': cp. G. 37, 4; H. 3. 82, 3, where it comes, as here, in the middle of an abl. abs.: cp. Dr. S. u. S. § 224.

9. **nonam.** This legion, part of the original invading army, had been almost cut to pieces in A. D. 61 (A. 14. 32, 6), after which it had been reinforced (14. 38, 1), but, as some think, may have never fully recovered its strength. A more probable explanation of its weakness is that of Urlichs ('Schlacht,' p. 25, n. 4), that a 'vexillatio' had probably been withdrawn from it by Domitian for

inter somnum ac trepidationem caesis vigilibus irrupere. iam- 2
que in ipsis castris pugnabatur, cum Agricola iter hostium
ab exploratoribus edoctus et vestigiis insecutus, velocissimos
equitum peditumque adsultare tergis pugnantium iubet, mox
ab universis adici clamorem ; et propinqua luce fulsere signa.
ita ancipiti malo territi Britanni ; et Romanis rediit animus, 3
ac securi pro salute de gloria certabant. ultro quin etiam eru-
pere, et fuit atrox in ipsis portarum angustiis proelium, donec
pulsi hostes, utroque exercitu certante, his, ut tulisse opem,
illis, ne eguisse auxilio viderentur. quod nisi paludes et silvae 4
fugientes texissent, debellatum illa victoria foret.

27. Cuius conscientia ac fama ferox exercitus nihil virtuti suae invium et penetrandam Caledoniam inveniendumque

5. adici clamor (cp. H. 3. 24, 3) Schoene. 6. at Romanis Bährens. redit : text W. 9. intulisse : ut tulisse P. 11. rexissent Δ. 13. penetrandum Δ, penetrandum in Dronke.

the German war. An inscription to L. Roscius Aelianus, found at Tibur (Or. 4952, Wilm. 1161, C. I. L. xiv. 3612), records him as 'trib. mil. leg. ix. Hispan. vexillarior. eiusdem in expeditione Germanica donato ab. Imp. Aug. militarib. donis.' The omission of the emperor's name suggests that it was Domitian, and the probable age of the person (cos. A. D. 100) agrees well with the supposition that he may have been a military tribune at this date.

1. **inter**, 'in the midst of,' 'during': cp. 'inter turbas et discordias,' H. 4. 1, 5.

3. **edoctus**; so with accus. in H. 2. 90, 2 ; A. 4. 50, 5; 12. 44, 3 ; 13. 47, 2 ; after Sall. Cat. 45, 1 ; Jug. 112, 2.

vestigiis insecutus, 'following close on the track'; taken from Livy, who so uses this local abl. without a personal accus. or genit. in describing military movements (6. 32, 10, &c.).

4. **adsultare** ; so with dat. A. 2. 13, 4; with accus. A. 1. 51, 6 : the word appears first in Plin. mai. and is chiefly Tacitean.

5. **signa**, those of his legionary force.

6. **Romanis**, those of the legion in the camp.

7. **securi pro salute**, 'without fear as to deliverance'; so 'pro me securior' (H. 4. 58, 1), 'pro . . . Catone securum' (Sen. Const. Sap. 2, 1), and uses in Liv. and Ov. ; analogous to 'metuere,' 'anxius,' 'sollicitus esse pro aliquo.' Dr. S. u. S. § 90.

de gloria, i. e. disputing the honours of victory with their rescuers ('utroque exercitu certante,' &c.). Here and in c. 5, 3, we find a trace of Sallust's 'cum Gallis pro salute, non pro gloria certari' (Jug. 114, 2).

ultro, &c., i. e. they not only repelled the assailants : 'quin etiam' is in anastrophe here alone in this treatise, but five times in G., once each in H. and A., after Vergil. Cp. 'quippe,' c. 3, 1.

10. **quod nisi** : cp. c. 16, 2.

11. **debellatum . . . foret**, 'the war would have been over'; so in H. 5. 18, 5, &c., after Livy (23. 40, 6, &c.). It is plain that in reality a great disaster was narrowly escaped, the courage of the Britons raised rather than broken, and the Roman advance suspended till next year.

12. **conscientia ac fama**, 'the consciousness and report': the former applies to those who had taken part in it, the latter to the rest of the army. The same terms contrast personal feeling and report of others in A. 6. 26, 2.

13. **penetrandam**, 'must be opened up' (being already 'trans Bodotriam,' c. 25, 1, they were within Caledonia) :

tandem Britanniae terminum continuo proeliorum cursu fre-
2 mebant. atque illi modo cauti ac sapientes prompti post
eventum ac magniloqui erant. iniquissima haec bellorum
condicio est: prospera omnes sibi vindicant, adversa uni im-
3 putantur. at Britanni non virtute *se*, sed occasione et arte
ducis *victos* rati, nihil ex adrogantia remittere, quo minus
iuventutem armarent, coniuges ac liberos in loca tuta transfer-
rent, coetibus ac sacrificiis conspirationem civitatum sancirent.
atque ita irritatis utrimque animis discessum.

28. Eadem aestate cohors Usiporum per Germanias con-

1. praelium: text R. 4. uindicant Γ. 5. se ins. Walch. 6. victos ins. L, Brotier, arte elusos, arte ducis elusos, arte usos al. 10. usipiorum (and in c. 32) Δ.

cp. 'longius penetrata Germania' (A. 4. 44, 3). This transitive use is first found in prose in Vell. 2. 40, 1.

1. **fremebant**, 'were clamorously demanding.' Dr. gives a list of collectives taking a plural verb in Tacitus, as 'iuventus,' 'manus,' 'multitudo,' 'pars,' 'plebs,' 'vexillum,' 'vulgus,' also the pronouns 'quisque' and 'uterque.'

2. **illi**, the 'ignavi specie prudentium' of c. 25, 3. 'Magniloquus,' here alone in Tacitus, is apparently in no earlier prose, and first in Ovid.

4. **prospera**, &c. The same sentiment is put into the mouth of Tiberius (A. 3. 53, 4), a similar one into that of Titus (H. 4. 52, 2). Both may have been suggested by Sallust's maxim (Jug. 53, 8), 'in victoria vel ignavis gloriari licet, adversae res etiam bonos detractant.'

5. **non virtute se.** The omission of 'se' could be defended (cp. A. 4. 59, 5, and note), but it is very easy to suppose that it has dropped out here; and not so easy to account for its loss below, if the gap (perhaps indicated by a dot in Γ) is rightly filled by 'victos,' as the very similar words in H. 2. 44, 5 ('non virtute se sed proditione victum'), and 2. 76, 8 ('ne Othonem quidem ducis arte aut exercitus vi, sed praepropera ipsius desperatione victum'), suggest: 'elusos,' meaning rather 'out-manœuvred,' seems inappropriate. It is possible that more words are lost, giving more fully their way of putting their case.

occasione et arte ducis, 'through a chance skilfully turned to account by the general,' i. e. the discovery of their design by Agricola and his prompt action on it.

6. **nihil**, &c., 'abated none of their pride': cp. 'nihil e solito luxu remittens,' H. 3. 55, 2. For 'quo minus' cp. c. 20, 2.

8. **conspirationem . . . sancirent**, 'ratify the union.'

9. **atque ita**, &c. Cp. 'atque ita infensis utrimque animis discessum' (A. 13. 56, 3), where a colloquy had taken place. Here it probably means that they went off to winter-quarters.

10. **Eadem aestate.** The introduction of this episode, which, though it would have found part in any general history of the campaigns, lies outside the biographical subject, has seemed strange to critics. It may have been inserted, as Gantrelle thinks, to relieve the monotonous narrative of warfare. It serves also to show that Agricola had troops who were a source not of strength but of weakness, and the possible contagion of whose example (cp. c. 32, 4) had to be guarded against. The story is related briefly from some other source by Dio (66. 20, 2) as suggesting Agricola's circumnavigation of the island.

Usiporum, the Usipii of Mart. 6. 60, 3; Usipetes (with Celtic termination) of A. 1. 51, 4; and Caes. B. G. 4. 1, 1. On their position at earlier date see G. 32 1, and note. Those here spoken of

scripta et in Britanniam transmissa magnum ac memorabile facinus ausa est. occiso centurione ac militibus, qui ad tra- **2**
dendam disciplinam inmixti manipulis exemplum et rectores habebantur, tris liburnicas adactis per vim gubernatoribus ascendere; et uno †remigante, suspectis duobus eoque interfectis, nondum vulgato rumore ut miraculum praevehebantur.
mox ad aquam atque utilia raptis secum . . . cum plerisque **3**

3. inmixtis Γ, inmistis Δ, text P. 5. remigrante P, renavigante Mützell, Halm, refugo, ante Urlichs, retro remigante Gudeman, regente, morigerante, refugiente, remeante al. 6. prebe (sc. praebebantur?) al. Γm, provehebantur P. 7. ad aquam atque ut illa raptis secum plerisque: utilia Selling, ad aquandum atque utilia raptum egressi et cum Halm, ad aquam a. u. raptanda Urlichs, cum aquatum atque utilia raptum issent Eussner, text Ritter.

must be the same who are associated with the Chatti and Mattiaci in H. 4. 37, 3, and must apparently be supposed to have submitted to Domitian early in his campaign of A.D. 83 (see Momms. Hist. v. 136, E. T. i. 150, n. 1), and to have been at once enrolled by him in the auxiliary forces and immediately sent off to Britain, and to have made their escape very soon after their arrival. They were evidently still untrained recruits, as they had only a centurion and other 'rectores,' and were thus unfit for service in the main army: as to their probable station see below on § 4.

Germanias: cp. c. 15, 4, and note.

1. **memorabile facinus**, from Sall. Jug. 79, 1; Liv. 23. 7, 6; 24. 22, 16; also in H. 1. 44, 2.

2. **militibus**, sc. 'legionariis.' Dio (l. l.) speaks of a tribune (χιλίαρχος) and centurions. Such drill instructors of recruits are called 'campidoctores' (Or. Insc. 1790 = Wilm. 1569 = C. I. L. vi. 533, &c., and D. of Ant. s. v.), and were usually veterans of distinction (Plin. Pan. 13.).

4. **habebantur**, 'were attached': cp. A. 1. 73, 2, where Nipp. gives many more or less kindred uses of the verb from Tacitus and Sallust.

liburnicas. These are the smaller war-ships, as distinct from 'triremes' and other larger vessels, and on the other hand from transports, storeships, &c.: see A. i. Introd. p. 128.

5. † **remigante.** It seems that at the end of their voyage (see § 4), and probably at the beginning (cp. 'ut miraculum' and the account in Dio) they had no pilot with them, and that therefore, as two were put to death, the third escaped at the outset. The manuscript text, even supposing that 'remigante' could mean 'gubernante,' thus seems contrary to the context, as do also 'regente,' 'morigerante.' Of the readings suitable to the sense, perhaps 'retro remigante' is most capable of explanation (see Gudeman), but it seems best to leave the question open. Any present participle would be aoristic, as in c. 4, 3, &c.

6. **nondum vulgato rumore** (cp. H. 4. 54, 2), here apparently explained by 'ut miraculum': nothing was yet known of their story, and the way in which they sailed on, or rather drifted before the wind, attracted attention simply from its marvellousness.

praevehebantur = 'praetervehebantur'; so in H. 5. 16, 6; 23, 3, and, with 'oram' or other accusatives, in H. 2. 2, 3, &c. 'Praefluo,' 'praelego,' &c. are similarly used: see on A. 2. 6, 5.

7. **mox**, &c. In this much vexed passage the correction 'utilia' (used of supplies in Sall. Jug. 86, 1, &c.) seems clear; while for the rest Ritter's supposition of a lacuna, in which other words followed by 'cum' had been omitted by skipping, is perhaps the most probable explanation of the corruption. He has ingeniously suggested that the sentence might have run 'raptis secum quae obvia, egressi, et cum,'

Britannorum sua defensantium proelio congressi ac saepe victores, aliquando pulsi, eo ad extremum inopiae venere, ut
4 infirmissimos suorum, mox sorte ductos vescerentur. atque ita circumvecti Britanniam, amissis per inscitiam regendi navibus, pro praedonibus habiti, primum a Suebis, mox a Frisiis inter-
5 cepti sunt. ac fuere quos per commercia venundatos et in

1. ut sua. puto Γ^m. 3. morum (for mox) and again l. 5 Δ. 5. primo dum Δ.

and compares 'raptis quod cuique obvium telis' (H. 3. 80, 1).

1. **defensantium**: cp. A. 2. 5, 3; 12. 29, 4; a poetical word, but also in Sall. (Jug. 26, 1; 60, 3; 97, 5).

2. **eo**, &c., 'at last came to such need': for 'ad extremum' cp. H. 1. 46, 6; 3. 22. 5; 'eo' with genit. is often used in Tacitus, also in Sallust and Livy.

3. **vescerentur.** The accus. with this verb, used here alone in Tacitus, seems an archaism, like that with 'fungi' (A. 3. 2, 1; 4. 38, 1), and 'potiri' (A. 11. 10, 8), but is found in Sall., Plin. mai., &c.

4. **circumvecti Britanniam.** These words alone give any indication in this narrative of the locality from which they started, and point to some place on the west coast. It has been thought that they had been added to the troops collected for the Irish expedition (c. 24, 1), and their station may thus have been in Wigtonshire (see Introd. p. 46, n. 4), or, as some think, at Uxellodunum (Ellenborough, near Maryport on the Cumberland coast), known from numerous inscriptions as a Roman military station (C. I. L. vii. p. 84). Nor is there anything to show whether they sailed southward round the Land's End, or northward round Cape Wrath. The account in Dio is very different: *περιέπλευσαν τὰ πρὸς ἑσπέραν αὐτῆς (τῆς Βρεττανίας) ὥς που τό τε κῦμα καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος αὐτοὺς ἔφερε, καὶ ἔλαθον ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα πρὸς τὰ στρατόπεδα τὰ ταύτῃ ὄντα προσσχόντες.* Here *ταύτῃ* must be explained by *πρὸς ἑσπέραν*, and the meaning must be that they sailed from the east round the north, and then round the western coast, and were stopped at a military station there. He thus reverses their direction and knows nothing of their reaching the coast of Holland. He adds, *κἀκ τούτου καὶ ἄλλους ὁ Ἀγρικόλας πειράσοντας τὸν περίπλουν πέμψας ἔμαθε καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ὅτι νῆσός ἐστιν.* So far as this can be fitted in at all with the more circumstantial and probably better informed account of Tacitus, it appears to indicate that it was by the north, not the south, that they sailed round.

amissis, &c.: this would have happened on the German coast.

5. **habiti**, 'taken for,' 'treated as': cp. A. 3. 19, 3; 4. 28, 2; 6. 4, 2; 16. 28, 5.

primum . . . mox, i. e. some by the former, the remnant by the latter.

Suebis. In G. 38, 1 (where see note) this is a generic name for a very large number of German tribes, living mostly east of the Elbe; but the name (taken to mean 'wanderers') is one that may be vaguely used. Gantrelle has pointed out that those here meant must be on the coast of Holland and would answer to those spoken of in Suet. Aug. 21, 'Suebos et Sigambros dedentes se traduxit in Galliam, atque in proximis Rheno agris collocavit.' They would probably have been settled between the mouths of the Scheldt and Rhine; but Tacitus appears to distinguish their settlement from 'nostra ripa,' and thus to suppose them as living beyond the latter river.

Frisiis. These held the northern part of Holland from the Yssel to the lower Ems, where their name still survives in that of Friesland. On their history see G. 34, 1, and note.

6. **per commercia**: cp. c. 39, 2.

venundatos; so written in Med. II. in A. 11. 22, 10; 13. 39, 7; 14. 33, 6; Tacitus has also 'venum dare' and

nostram usque ripam mutatione ementium adductos indicium
tanti casus inlustravit.

29. Initio aestatis Agricola domestico vulnere ictus : anno
ante natum filium amisit. quem casum neque ut plerique
fortium virorum ambitiose, neque per lamenta rursus ac mae-
rorem muliebriter tulit : et in luctu bellum inter remedia erat.
igitur praemissa classe, quae pluribus locis praedata magnum 2
et incertum terrorem faceret, expedito exercitu, cui ex Bri-
tannis fortissimos et longa pace exploratos addiderat, ad
montem Graupium pervenit, quem iam hostis insederat. nam 3

1. iudicium Δ. 3. septimae initio Brotier. ictus, nam Schoene.
10. Graupiām Γ, Graupium Δ, Graupius mons marg. index of Γ, Grampium P. and later edd.

'veno dare.' The verb is not in Cicero, but in Sallust and Livy.

1. **nostram**, the left or Gallic bank of the Rhine. Those taken by the Frisii would certainly be beyond it.

indicium . . . inlustravit, 'their story of this great adventure gained them fame' (cp. H. 3. 62, 4 ; Dial. 23, 5 ; 37, 6). The indic. after 'sunt qui,' common in poetry (Hor. Od. 1. 1, 2, &c.) but very rare in prose, seems used here because only a definite few are meant (= 'nonnullos'). See Gudeman on Dial. 31, 22 (the only other instance in Tacitus).

3. **Initio aestatis.** It is clear that this is not the summer of c. 28, 1, but the following one (cp. c. 34, 1). It is difficult to suppose 'sequentis' to be supplied from the sense, and Brotier's suggestion that 'vii' has been lost after the last syllable ('vit') of the preceding chapter is not improbable.

ictus. This can be taken aoristically with 'amisit'; but it is very peculiar that the verb would have to explain the participle, instead of, as usual, being explained by it. It is therefore perhaps better to stop it thus (with K. and Dr.), and to take it as 'ictus est,' making the following words an explanatory asyndeton. We gather that Agricola was accompanied by his wife here, as in Asia (c. 6, 3).

5. **fortium**, 'strong-minded,' used sarcastically.

ambitiose, 'ostentatiously,' making a display of *ἀταραξία* to gain admiration (cp. 'ambitiosa morte,' c. 42, 5). Tacitus is not slow to censure the vanity of Stoics (see Introd. p. 14, n. 5), as elsewhere their indolence (H. 4. 5, 2), and had probably special reasons for hostility to them at the date of this work : see Introd. p. 10 foll.

per, taken nearly as in c. 4, 2 ; the sense of a modal abl. (as also that of instrumental or causal) being often given by the accus. with this prep. ; cp. c. 37, 4 ; 38, 1 ; 40, 4 ; 44, 5, &c. ; A. i. Introd. p. 61, § 62.

6. **inter remedia.** The practice (A. 4. 13, 1) and sentiment (A. 4. 8, 4) of Tiberius are so described.

8. **incertum**, 'vague'; expressing the uncertainty of defenders as to the quarter most threatened.

expedito, without heavy baggage.

ex Britannis. The additional words show that they were enlisted not from newly conquered districts but from southern Britain. The conscription is also alluded to in c. 13, 1 ; 15, 3 ; 31, 1. Those employed in Britain itself appear not to have been formed into distinct bodies : see Introd. p. 49, n. 2.

9. **exploratos**, 'tested' : cp. 'secundae res . . . animos explorant,' H. 1. 15, 5.

10. **Graupium**, perhaps, as Holder thinks from some root expressive of mountain form, akin to *γρυπός*. P's reading, apparently a mere error, has been unfortunately perpetuated by the name 'Grampians,' first given by geographers of the sixteenth century (see Skene,

Britanni nihil fracti pugnae prioris eventu, et ultionem aut servitium expectantes, tandemque docti commune periculum concordia propulsandum, legationibus et foederibus omnium
4 civitatum vires exciverant. iamque super triginta milia armatorum aspiciebantur, et adhuc adfluebat omnis iuventus et quibus cruda ac viridis senectus, clari bello et sua quisque decora gestantes, cum inter plures duces virtute et genere praestans nomine Calgacus apud contractam multitudinem proelium poscentem in hunc modum locutus fertur:

30. 'Quotiens causas belli et necessitatem nostram intueor, magnus mihi animus est hodiernum diem consensumque

4. ciuitatium Δ. centum triginta Urlichs, octoginta Nipp. 8. $\overset{c}{g}$algacus (corr. first hand) Δ, Galgacus R. (after Alciati). 11. consensusque Δ.

Celtic Scotland, p. 12). We have therefore nothing to help us in identifying the locality. The limits within which it may be sought are indicated in Introd. p. 48.

insederat, from 'insido,' as in c. 37, 1, &c.

1. **pugnae prioris**, that described in c. 26.

2. **expectantes.** Peter notes that the sense of 'seeing before them,' suits both substantives sufficiently to make it hardly necessary to suppose a zeugma.

tandemque docti: cp. c 12, 2.

3. **legationibus et foederibus**, probably best taken as a hendiadys.

4. **triginta milia.** Roman imagination usually forms much larger estimates of the numbers of a barbarian enemy; but there is no need to suppose an error (though such are always possible in figures), the more so as the context speaks of subsequent additions. See note on c. 37, 6.

5. **adhuc**, 'still further': cp. c. 33, 1; G. 10, 3, &c.

6. **cruda ac viridis**, 'fresh and green' (not sapless and withered); taken from Verg. Aen. 6, 304; which itself expresses the Homeric ὠμογέρων (Il. 23, 791).

7. **decora**, 'military decorations,' trophies of valour.

8. **praestans**, 'one excelling'; for such concise uses, answering to Greek uses of τις, cp. A. 2. 74, 2; 13. 15, 4; 55, 2; H. 4. 82, 2; in all of which 'nomine' is thus used to introduce foreign names.

Calgacus, an otherwise wholly unknown person. The name appears to be connected with a Celtic word for a sword (Irish 'calgach,' &c.: see Holder), or might mean 'crafty' (Rhys, Celtic Britain, p. 283).

contractam, 'gathered together': cp. c. 18, 3; 20, 2; A. 1. 67, 1, &c.

9. **in hunc modum locutus fertur.** The speech is obviously a composition of Tacitus, though he speaks as if he were following some tradition of its purport. 'In hunc modum' is often so used: cp. H. 1. 15, 1; A. 2. 71, 1; 3. 16, 4; 50, 1; 52, 4; 4. 34, 2; 12. 36, 6; 14. 42, 2; &c.

10. **Quotiens**, &c. The opening words perhaps contain a slight reminiscence of Sall. Cat. 58, 18.

causas belli. In c. 15, 4, Britons make these to be 'sibi patriam coniuges parentes, illis avaritiam et luxuriam,' and the thought is the same here: their nobleness of motive will be a tower of strength to them. Cp. also A. 14. 35, 4.

necessitatem, 'peril,' or crisis: cp. 'necessitatis monet,' A. 1. 67, 1.

11. **animus est**, here constructed with accus. and inf. on the analogy of 'spes est,' or 'confido.' 'Animus' has the force of 'confidence' in Sall. Cat. 40, 6.

hodiernum diem consensumque vestrum, forming one idea in thought, 'your union as this day witnessed.'

vestrum initium libertatis toti Britanniae fore; nam et universi
servitutis expertes et nullae ultra terrae ac ne mare quidem
securum inminente nobis classe Romana. ita proelium atque 2
arma, quae fortibus honesta, eadem etiam ignavis tutissima
sunt. priores pugnae, quibus adversus Romanos varia fortuna 3
certatum est, spem ac subsidium in nostris manibus habebant,
quia nobilissimi totius Britanniae eoque in ipsis penetralibus
siti nec servientium litora aspicientes, oculos quoque a contactu
dominationis inviolatos habebamus. nos terrarum ac libertatis 4
extremos recessus ipse ac sinus famae in hunc diem defendit;

1. totius P. 2. uni Bährens. 6. nauibus Δ. 7. eiusque W, iique K. 10. sinus fama Boxhorn and Madvig, situs famae Prammer, finis famae Müller, sinus ferme Bährens.

1. **initium**, &c. Similar language is put into the mouth of Caratacus in 12. 34, 2 'illam aciem . . . aut reciperandae libertatis aut servitutis aeternae initium fore.'

nam et, &c. The argument mainly dwells on the 'necessitas,' and would wholly do so if 'uni' were to be read; but the text as it stands could be explained as throwing in the encouraging thought that they have no already enslaved portion of their nation to paralyze their action (cp. § 3).

3. **securum**, 'free from danger': cp. Dial. 3, 3; H. 1. 1, 5: so used of things, for 'tutus,' in Livy (39. 1, 6) and afterwards, but rarely.

5. **pugnae . . . habebant**. By a bold personification, the battle is put for the combatants; also the thing hoped for ('subsidium') is coupled with the hope. A. compares 'ad coniugii spem, consortium regni,' A. 4. 3, 3.

7. **eoque**, &c. The received text seems defensible as a flight of rhetoric, whereby the speaker is made to say that because they were the noblest race, Fortune had located them in the furthest fastness, the better to preserve them undefiled. They may have claimed superiority as an indigenous people, and may well have been believed and have believed themselves to be such (cp. Caes. B. G. 5. 12, 1), though Tacitus thought them German immigrants (c. 11, 2). 'Situs' is used of persons (cp. A. 12. 10, 2) after Sallust.

8. **servientium**, substantival (cp. c. 4, 3), 'of slaves,' i. e. of the Gauls, who were within sight of south Britain (c. 10, 2).

oculos quoque, &c., as if he had said, 'we are not only not polluted by contact with slavery, but even our eyes are not brought into view of it.' A similar bold figure is noted in A. 3. 12, 7 ('contrectandum vulgi oculis'). The prep. with abl. (cp. Dr. S. u. S. § 94) seems adapted to the personification: cp. A. 3. 69, 2.

9. **terrarum**, &c., 'the last strip of land, and last home of liberty.' For such use of an adj. with two nouns cp. 'secunda tempestate et fama,' c. 38, 5.

10. **recessus ipse**, &c. In this much vexed sentence, if the text is sound, a bold figure of rhetoric must be again imagined. The transposition of 'atque omne,' &c., helps it by supplying an explanatory context, and 'recessus' and 'sinus' are rhetorical synonyms (cp. 'sinus imperii,' G. 29, 4). He would thus say, 'the very seclusion and remoteness of our glory' (the mystery lent by distance to our reputation) 'has protected us' (by magnifying our prestige). W.'s interpretation, by which the speaker is made to say that their glory as it were protects them in its bosom (see also Peter), makes the figure very extravagant, and to take 'famae' (with Peerlkamp and others) as dative (cp. 'solstitium pecori defendite,' Verg. E. 7, 47) seems to give a false meaning. Their seclusion did not prevent their being talked about (but rather the reverse),

5 atque omne ignotum pro magnifico est: sed nunc terminus
Britanniae patet, nulla iam ultra gens, nihil nisi fluctus et
saxa, et infestiores Romani, quorum superbiam frustra per
6 obsequium ac modestiam effugeris. raptores orbis, postquam
cuncta vastantibus defuere terrae, iam et mare scrutantur: si
locuples hostis est, avari, si pauper, ambitiosi, quos non Oriens,
non Occidens satiaverit: soli omnium opes atque inopiam
7 pari adfectu concupiscunt. auferre trucidare rapere falsis
nominibus imperium, atque ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem
appellant.'

31. 'Liberos cuique ac propinquos suos natura carissimos esse voluit: hi per dilectus alibi servituri auferuntur: coniuges

2. patet atque (atqui R) omne . . . sed: transp. Brueys; [atque . . . est] Mur. 4. ^{ef}fugeris Γ, exfugeris Δ, ecfugeris Bährens. 5. defuere terram et mare: terrae R, terrae iam Halm. 12. delectus.

though it prevented their real strength from being known. Of the emendations, 'sinus fama' ('the report of our recess,' i.e. of the great and remote stretch of land which we inhabit) is the best, but has not won any general acceptance.

1. **atque omne, &c.** In their position in the MSS. these words can be explained, with Peter, in relation to the preceding sentence (the entrance is open, and what is hitherto unknown is all the more attractive), but seem wholly irrelevant to the following 'sed nulla,' &c.; so that those who do not transpose, generally omit or bracket them; from which fate their epigrammatic force goes far to rescue them. As transposed, they give the meaning 'our seclusion has defended us and the fact that the unknown is always magnified. Now this mystery no longer exists.' Cp. H. 2. 83, 1, and 'maior ignotarum rerum est terror' (Liv. 28. 44, 3).

3. **infestiores**, i. e. 'quam haec.'

4. **effugeris**, potential.

raptores orbis. So Mithridates is made to call them 'latrones gentium' (Sall. H. 4. 61, 22 D, 19 K, p. 135 G.) and Telesinus 'raptores Italiae libertatis lupos' (Vell. 2. 27, 1; the earliest prose use of 'raptor').

5. **iam et**, always used by Tacitus, 'euphoniae causa,' for 'iam etiam.'

mare scrutantur, repeated in G. 45, 4: here A. notes the rhetorical exaggeration. They really used the sea only to support their occupation of the land.

6. **ambitiosi**, 'seeking homage': cp. 'sexum . . . ambitiosum, potestatis avidum,' A. 3. 33, 3.

7. **satiaverit**, best taken as conj. perf. depending on the causal 'quos.'

omnium, best taken with 'soli': cp. G. 45, 4.

opes atque inopiam, 'wealth and want,' i. e. every acquisition, great and small. Cp. the sentiment in Sall. Cat. 11, 3, 'avaritia . . . neque copia neque inopia minuitur.' Dio (Fr. Vat. p. 191 Dind.) makes Caratacus say, on seeing the splendour of Rome, διὰ τί τοσαῦτα καὶ τηλικαῦτα κεκτημένοι τῶν σκηνῶν ἡμῶν ἐπιθυμεῖτε.

8. **auferre trucidare rapere**, used as substantives, 'plunder, murder, rapine'; the first relates to things, the second to men, the third to both.

falsis nominibus: cp. H. 1. 37, 7.

9. **pacem**, the 'pax gentium' of H. 1. 84, 9, 'pax Romana' of Seneca (de Prov. 4, 14), Pliny (N. H. 27. 1, 3), &c.; the peace and order established through the Roman world, which warlike and predatory races naturally abhorred. Cp. 'additis qui pacem nostram metuebant,' A. 12. 33, 2.

12. **voluit**, viewing nature as a law-giver.

alibi servituri, used bitterly of the conscription. Cohorts of Britanni be-

sororesque etiam si hostilem libidinem effugiant, nomine
amicorum atque hospitum polluuntur. bona fortunaeque 2
in tributum, ager atque annus in frumentum, corpora ipsa ac
manus silvis ac paludibus emuniendis inter verbera ac con-
tumelias conteruntur. nata servituti mancipia semel veneunt,
atque ultro a dominis aluntur: Britannia servitutem suam
quotidie emit, quotidie pascit. ac sicut in familia recentissimus 3
quisque servorum etiam conservis ludibrio est, sic in hoc
orbis terrarum vetere famulatu novi nos et viles in excidium
petimur; neque enim arva nobis aut metalla aut portus sunt,
quibus exercendis reservemur. virtus porro ac ferocia sub- 4

2. fortunae quae (que Γ^{m}): text Walther. 3. aggerat annus: aggeratur annus W, text F. Jacob, ager et Seyffert. 5. conterunt: text F. Jacob and Frohlich. 8. etiam om. Δ.

longing to the German army in A.D. 69 are mentioned in H. 1. 70, 3. Others are found under Titus and Domitian in Pannonia (Henzen, 5428, 5430, &c.), and elsewhere. On their employment in Britain itself see c. 29, 2 and note.

coniuges, &c. Cp. the words ascribed to Caratacus, A. 12, 34, 3; and the treatment of Boudicca and her daughters, A. 14. 31, 3.

1. **nomine amicorum**, &c., i.e. by persons professing such titles. Clearness of construction is sacrificed to conciseness.

3. **ager atque annus**, 'the land and its yearly produce.' This emendation is generally accepted: for the use of 'annus' for 'annona,' probably after Lucan 3, 343, cp. 'expectare annum,' G. 14, 5. 'Conteruntur' can easily have lost its terminal stroke, and such a sense as that of 'consumitur' can be supplied from it. On the requisitions of corn cp. c. 19, 4, and note.

4. **emuniendis** (here alone in Tacitus), 'making roads through': the usual sense of the word is to fortify, and perhaps, as A. thinks, the notion is here that of making elevated causeways; or the words are a concise expression for 'viam per silvas munire,' as Livy has 'ad rupem muniendam,' 21. 37, 2. The leading grievances of subjects are all brought together, conscription, tribute, corn requisition, forced labour.

5. **nata servituti**; so in Cic. Prov. Cons. 5, 10; Liv. 36. 17, 5; here in indignant contrast to the free-born Britons.

semel veneunt, &c., 'are sold once for all, and are so far from feeding their masters that they are fed by them; whereas Britain every day pays the price of its own slavery (by tribute) and every day feeds it' (by corn supply), or rather feeds its enslavers. The logic is sacrificed to rhetorical point. A somewhat similar sentiment is put into the mouth of Boudicca in Dio, 62. 3, 3.

7. **recentissimus quisque**, 'the last newcomer.' It is noticed that he is made here to speak as only those could who knew a Roman household.

9. **novi nos**, &c.; a further point is introduced; not only are we, like all new slaves, a derision, but so worthless and contemptible in our masters' eyes that they do not wish to keep us at all, but only to extirpate us.

10. **neque . . . arva**. Caledonia had only mountain wastes and pastures. In Caesar's time this was believed to be the general condition of the remoter parts ('interiores plerique frumenta non serunt,' B. G. 5, 14, 2).

metalla. On the working of these under the Romans as evidenced by inscriptions see C. I. L. vii. p. 220, foll.

11. **exercendis**. On the dat. cp. c. 23, 1, and note. The verb is used with 'agri' (G. 29, 4; A. 11. 7, 4) and with 'metalla' (Liv. 45. 29, 11), and of other kinds of trade or industry (H. 2. 82, 1; A. 6. 16, 3); but to take it with 'portus' in the sense of constructing or fitting up harbours must require a zeugma.

iectorum ingrata imperantibus; et longinquitas ac secretum ipsum quo tutius, eo suspectius. ita sublata spe veniae tandem sumite animum, tam quibus salus quam quibus gloria carissima est. Brigantes femina duce exurere coloniam, expugnare castra, ac nisi felicitas in socordiam vertisset, exuere iugum potuere: nos integri et indomiti et in libertatem, non in paenitentiam ~~†laturi,~~ primo statim congressu ostendamus, quos sibi Caledonia viros seposuerit.' [bellaturi]

32. 'An eandem Romanis in bello virtutem quam in pace

4. clarissima Δ. 7. in paenitentiam arma laturi W, in paenitentiam bellaturi Koch, Urlichs, bellaturis, or in libertate, non in paenitentia bellaturi Peter, in patïentiam bellaturi Wölfflin, Halm, libertatem non paenitentiam allaturi A.

porro: cp. c. 15, 6, and note; here apparently giving another reason why they should expect annihilation.

1. **secretum**, 'our seclusion': cp. c. 25, 2; 30, 6.

2. **sublata spe veniae**, repeated in H. 4. 56, 2.

3. **sumite animum**, 'take courage'; so 'sumpsi animum,' Ov. F. 1. 147: in H. 1. 27, 5 it means rather 'consilium capere.'

4. **Brigantes.** These are not noticed elsewhere as taking any part in the rising of Boudicca, and may be here mentioned by error; but they were hostile to Rome at nearly that date (A. 12. 40, 3), and other tribes than the Iceni and Trinovantes are said to have joined (14. 31, 4), and it is called 'rebellio totius Britanniae' in c. 18, 4. On the other hand they could hardly be said 'exuere iugum.'

coloniam, Camulodunum: cp. c. 16, 1.

5. **castra.** That of the Ninth legion must be meant, but the narrative in A. 14. 32, 6, says that the remnant were saved by flying to it. Perhaps the speaker is here made to exaggerate.

nisi felicitas, &c., 'had not success ended in carelessness'; so 'victoria in luxuriam vertit' (Liv. 3. 64, 1), &c. It seems here to be meant that only gross negligence prevented them from annihilating the army of Paulinus; and this, though not stated in the narrative in the Annals, is certainly borne out by it.

6. **potuere**, used as an ordinary indicative with 'exurere' and 'expugnare,' but with 'exuere' in the sense in which an indicative, qualified by a conditional sentence, has (rarely in the perfect) a subjunctive force: cp. Dr. S. u. S. § 194, 3.

7. **non in paenitentiam †laturi.** Here, though the text is undoubtedly corrupt, no emendation seems sufficiently unexceptionable to become generally adopted. 'Arma laturi' and 'bellaturi' are those which depart least from the MSS., but the former is open to Wölfflin's objection (Philol. xxvi. 99) that they were rather already 'arma ferentes' than 'laturi,' and it is difficult to suppose that Tacitus wrote such a phrase as 'arma ferre' or 'bellare in paenitentiam.' The further change 'in patientiam' (cp. c. 16, 2) supplies a better antithesis to 'in libertatem,' but it would still seem that 'bellare in aliquid,' usually meaning 'to make war against' would be used here very ambiguously, and even misleadingly. Peter's readings, in the first of which 'bellaturis' is referred to the Romans (who will have to fight a free, not a previously subjected people), avoid this difficulty, but make the sentence rather surplusage. With A's reading 'allaturi' is taken to mean 'who will bring into the contest,' a sense which seems to require some further addition to the word or context to make it as clear as in the other instances given by him.

8. **seposuerit**, 'has kept in store': cp. 'in usum proeliorum sepositi' (G. 29, 2), 'agros . . . sepositos' (A. 13. 54, 2).

9. **An**, &c.; i.e. you should take courage, unless you think, &c. The

lasciviam adesse creditis? nostris illi dissensionibus ac discordiis clari vitia hostium in gloriam exercitus sui vertunt; quem contractum ex diversissimis gentibus ut secundae res tenent, ita adversae dissolvent: nisi si Gallos et Germanos et (pudet dictu) Britannorum plerosque, licet dominationi alienae sanguinem commodent, diutius tamen hostes quam servos, fide et adfectu teneri putatis. metus ac terror sunt infirma **2** vincla caritatis; quae ubi removeris, qui timere desierint, odisse incipient. omnia victoriae incitamenta pro nobis sunt: nullae Romanos coniuges accendunt, nulli parentes fugam exprobraturi sunt; aut nulla plerisque patria aut alia est. paucos numero, trepidos ignorantia, caelum ipsum ac mare et **3**

3. contactum Δ. 4. nisi Gallos W. 6. commendent: text P. 7. est: sunt Beroald., tenent Bährens. 8. loco caritatis K. 11. exprob^{r}aturi Γ, exprobaturi Δ, P. 12. circum trepidos: locorum trepidos Anquetil, text Heumann.

subject of hope of success, begun in c. 31, 4, is carried on throughout this chapter.

1. **dissensionibus et discordiis,** synonyms, so coupled in Dial. 40, 4: on the fact cp. c. 12, 2.

2. **vertunt,** 'they turn' or employ; so 'ad gloriam vertebat,' A. 2. 84, 2.

4. **nisi si,** used to put a probable supposition in G. 2, 2; A. 6. 25, 1; 15. 53, 5: in Cic. Cat. 2. 4, Quint. 4. 1, 70, as here, it puts ironically a supposition dismissed as impossible, and in all these cases 'si' is questioned.

5. **pudet dictu.** Dr. notes this as here alone used for 'pudendum dictu' (H. 2. 61, 1, &c.) or 'pudet dicere.' On the Britons in this Roman army see c. 29, 2.

6. **commodent,** 'lend'; this emendation is supported by 'nomen . . . commodavisse' (A. 15. 53, 5), 'vires . . . commodando' (Liv. 34. 12, 5), &c.

diutius, who have been much longer; i. e. are more deeply imbued with the feelings of enemies.

7. **adfectu,** 'attachment': cp. 'militia sine adfectu' (H. 4. 31, 2), and Mayor on Juv. 12, 10; who notes it as a silver age use. A similar state of feeling among auxiliaries is referred to in H. 4. 76, 6.

metus ac terror, 'to feel fear and to inspire it.' 'Est' is retained by some with the sense 'exists between them'; but with it we should expect 'vinclum.' The verb need not be expressed, but it seems easier to suppose 'est' and 'sunt' confused in compendia than the former interpolated.

infirma vincla caritatis, a bitter litotes, as such are not really bonds of affection at all, but the reverse.

9. **victoriae incitamenta,** 'incentives to victory': thus the wives and children present are called 'hortamenta victoriae' in H. 4. 18, 4. The British women were thus present in the battle against Suetonius (A. 14. 34, 4), and the German custom is described in G. 7, 4; 8, 1, and that of the Thracians in A. 4. 51, 2. A. notes the combination of 'coniuges,' 'parentes,' 'patria,' in the appeal of Civilis (H. 5. 17, 4).

11. **aut nulla,** &c., 'most of them have no home or an alien home' (not that for which they fight). Similar terms are used of the 'colluvies' of slaves in A. 14. 44, 5, 'quibus . . . externa sacra aut nulla sunt.' So here many might be said to have no 'patria,' individuals from all quarters drafted in to fill the ranks, as distinct from the Germans, Gauls, &c., who gave their name to cohorts or 'alae.' Even the legionaries, though in name 'cives Romani,' were gathered from everywhere.

12. **trepidos.** The MSS. 'circum' is taken to be a repetition from the next

silvas, ignota omnia circumspectantes, clausos quodam modo
ac vinctos di nobis tradiderunt. ne terreat vanus aspectus et
auri fulgor atque argenti, quod neque tegit neque vulnerat.
4 in ipsa hostium acie inveniemus nostras manus. adgnoscent
Britanni suam causam, recordabuntur Galli priorem libertatem,
deserent illos ceteri Germani, tamquam nuper Usipi reliquerunt.
nec quicquam ultra formidinis: vacua castella, senum coloniae,
inter male parentes et iniuste imperantes aegra municipia et
5 discordantia. hic dux, hic exercitus: ibi tributa et metalla et
ceterae servientium poenae, quas in aeternum perferre aut

1. siluis Δ. circum spectantes Doed., Halm. 6. tam quam A, Halm. 7. nequicquam Γ, nequaquam Δ, text P. senium Δ. 8. tetra mancipia al. Γ^m. 9. illic K.

line: 'locorum trepidos ignorantia' would be a very improbable order of words.

ignorantia, explained by 'caelum . . . circumspectantes,' which perhaps contain a reminiscence of Sall. Jug. 72, 2 'circumspectare omnia et omni strepitu pavescere.'

2. **vinctos**, 'spellbound'; so used of panic-stricken or hampered soldiers in A. 1. 65, 4; H. 1. 79, 3.

3. **auri fulgor atque argenti**, the imposing spectacle of legions, 'insignibus fulgentes' (A. 1. 24, 4), i.e. with adorned standards and soldiers wearing decorations.

4. **nostras manus**, 'bodies of allies,' those here described. A. notes the emphatic position of the verbs.

adgnoscent . . . suam causam, 'will see that our cause is theirs.'

6. **tamquam**. A. thinks that the word must be written 'divisim,' to give the force of 'non minus quam'; but it is never elsewhere so written in Tacitus, and 'tamquam' has elsewhere the force of 'quemadmodum' (cp. Cic. Tusc. 5. 5, 13, &c.), which gives a good sense here. For the Usipi cp. c. 28, 1.

7. **ultra**, beyond the army facing us: 'formido' here of that which can cause fear, as in Sall. Jug. 23, 1; 66, 1. Cp. 'metus,' A. 1. 40, 1, and note.

vacua castella, 'forts drained of their garrisons.' This and the other expressions are probably intended to be exaggerations of the speaker, not actual facts. See Introd. p. 49.

coloniae, perhaps a rhetorical plural referring only to Camulodunum (Colchester). Inscriptions show Glevum (Gloucester), Lindum (Lincoln), and Eburacum (York), to have become at some time colonies, the first of them perhaps (see on A. 12. 32, 4) at an early date.

8. **inter**, often used with the force of an abl. abs. or causal sentence, as 'inter temulentos' = 'cum temulenti essent,' A. 1. 50, 7 (where see note); so here 'where subjects are disobedient, and masters tyrannical.' Cp. 'inter infensos vel obnoxios' (H. 1. 1, 2, where see Heraeus), 'inter discordes' (H. 2. 92, 1), &c.

aegra, 'feeble,' cp. 'quid aegrum' (H. 1. 4, 1), 'aegram Italiam' (A. 11. 23, 2), &c.

municipia. Verulam alone is mentioned as such (A. 14. 33, 4), but possibly Londinium and other towns had a similar status. 'Discordantia,' 'mutinous': cp. c. 16, 4; A. 1. 16, 3; 38, 1, &c.

9. **hic dux, hic exercitus**, best taken (with W.) as referring to themselves: 'on this side you have a leader and a national army, on that side bondage and all belonging to it.' 'Hic' and 'ibi' are opposed in 15. 50, 7, 'hic' and 'illic' in A. 1. 61, 6, 'hinc' and 'inde' very often (e.g. H. 1. 84, 7; 5. 24, 3), 'hinc,' 'hinc' in c. 25, 1. For a different view see A.'s note, and Lex. p. 525.

metalla, used concisely for mine labour, and as a type of all forced labour (cp. c. 31, 2).

statim ulcisci in hoc campo est. proinde ituri in aciem et maiores vestros et posteros cogitate.'

33. Excepere orationem alacres, ut barbaris moris, cantu fremituque et clamoribus dissonis. iamque agmina et armorum fulgores audentissimi cuiusque procursu: simul instruebatur acies, cum Agricola quamquam laetum et vix munimentis coërcitum militem accendendum adhuc ratus, ita disseruit: 'septimus annus est, commilitones, ex quo virtute vestra, 2

3. et ut Walther, atque ut Ritt. 5. instituebatur al. Γ^m. 6. monitis Γ, munimentis Γ^m, Δ. 8. octauus: septimus Acid. virtute et auspiciis: text Nipp.

1. **statim ulcisci,** 'to avenge here and now.' A. notes that though the penalties are in the future, the insult that contemplates them is viewed as existing already.

in hoc campo est, 'is for this field to decide.' The same idea is elsewhere put in other words, 'illos esse campos,' &c. (H. 3. 24, 1), 'hac acie parari' (A. 2. 14, 6).

proinde, hortatory, 'accordingly'; so with imperative in H. 4. 74, 6.

2. **maiores vestros,** &c., i.e. think of the freedom which you inherited from the one and ought to hand on to the other.

3. **Excepere:** cp. 'varie excepta oratio,' H. 4. 59, 1. With this reading, 'ut moris' goes grammatically with this word only, but in sense also with 'alacres.'

moris: cp. c. 39, 1; 42, 5, &c. This quasi partitive or qualitative genitive is classical, but is used by Tacitus also in the plural (A. 1. 80, 2) and in other words (A. i. Introd. p. 52, § 35).

4. **dissonis,** 'confused' (cp. H. 1. 32, 1; 4. 29, 2), to Roman ears inarticulate.

agmina, &c., 'these were bodies in movement, and flashes of arms as the boldest darted before the ranks': the verb is supplied from the sense (cp. c. 22, 3). The rare plural 'fulgores' is used of separate flashes of lightning in Cic. and Sen.: 'audens' (usually in a good sense) is perhaps in no earlier prose, the superlative probably here only.

7. **adhuc,** 'still further': cp. c. 29, 4.

ita disseruit. Cp. the words used in introducing the former speech (c. 29, 4). Whether Tacitus had any knowledge of what Agricola actually said or not, it seems clear that this speech also is essentially his composition, and its calmness and determination are put in studied rhetorical contrast to the overstrained language of the other. Eussner notes some apparent reminiscences of the speech of Scipio, perhaps also of that of Hannibal before Ticinum (Liv. 21. 40–44): see on c. 34. 1, 3. The topics here are: Britain has been discovered and subdued; you have always longed for battle, and it is before you with victory or death as alternatives; victory, to which you have been accustomed, is easy and will end all your hardships.

8. **septimus.** The manuscript copyists may easily have confused VII and VIII in their exemplar, and the correction is required by the chronology. Against the supposition that a year has been lost must be set the fact that the sixth year (c. 25, 1) is referred to below as 'proximus' (c. 34, 1); and the previous years are accounted for. W.'s suggestion that the original MS. had 'XIII,' and that the time of Cerialis and Frontinus is reckoned in, is sufficiently refuted by Nipp. (Rh. Mus. xix. 106–108).

virtute, &c. It is possible to explain the manuscript text by taking (with Peter) 'imperii Romani' as equivalent, not to 'populi R.,' but to 'imperatoris' (or perhaps a substitute for it due to the writer's aversion to any recognition of Domitian), 'fide atque opera nostra,' to express the general's share ('my loyalty and zeal'), and 'vicistis,' that of the soldiers. But, though quite correct to mention the 'auspicia' (cp. A. 2. 41, 1), it is somewhat strange to speak of the

auspiciis imperii Romani, fide atque opera nostra Britanniam
vicistis. tot expeditionibus, tot proeliis, seu fortitudine ad-
versus hostis seu patientia ac labore paene adversus ipsam
rerum naturam opus fuit, neque me militum neque vos ducis
3 paenituit. ergo egressi, ego veterum legatorum, vos priorum
exercituum terminos, finem Britanniae non fama nec rumore,
sed castris et armis tenemus: inventa Britannia et subacta.
4 equidem saepe in agmine, cum vos paludes montesve et
flumina fatigarent, fortissimi cuiusque voces audiebam:
'quando dabitur hostis, quando acies?' veniunt, e latebris
suis extrusi, et vota virtusque in aperto, omniaque prona
5 victoribus atque eadem victis adversa. nam ut superasse
tantum itineris, silvas evasisse, transisse aestuaria pulchrum ac
decorum in frontem, ita fugientibus periculosissima quae hodie

1. opera vestra P, auspiciis imp. Ro., virtute et fide vestra atque opera nostra Urlichs. 7. inventa . . . subacta om. Url. 8. perhaps montesque Url., montesve aut Britzelmayr. 10. aĩus Γ, anim' Δ, acies R. 14. item : ita R.

'virtus' of an absent emperor: and if emendation is required, the simplest is that here adopted, which merely supposes an absorption of parts of 'vestra' in the end of the previous and beginning of the following word, and the corruption of the remainder into 'et.' That of Urlichs, though certainly giving a better order of ideas, and bringing together 'virtus' and 'fides' (cp. A. 3. 47, 1; 62, 1), is considerably more violent.

2. **vicistis**, 'you have had a career of victory.'

expeditionibus . . . proeliis, to be be taken as quasi local ablatives, being the occasions referred to in 'paenituit.' 'seu . . . fuit' are parenthetical.

3. **adversus . . . naturam**, 'against the elements,' as in the 'tempestates' of c. 22, 1.

6. **non fama**, &c. A. seems right in taking the use of 'tenemus' rather as a bold stroke of rhetoric than (with W. and K.) as a zeugma. 'The end of Britain is ours not by our talking of it and guessing at it, but by occupying it in arms.' A somewhat similar, but far less bold figure is 'Nero nuntiis magis et rumoribus quam armis depulsus' (H. 1. 89, 2).

7. **inventa**, hyperbolically used of finding its limit, or rather the entrance to its remotest tract.

10. **dabitur**: cp. 'daretur pugna' (A. 2. 13, 3). The correction 'acies' is very generally adopted, and the error in the MSS. can have arisen from the resemblance to 'aĩus.'

11. **vota virtusque in aperto**, in a pregnant sense, 'it lies open to you to fulfil your vows and show your valour.' For 'in aperto' cp. c. 1, 2; and for the sentiment cp. 'quod votis optastis adest' (Verg. Aen. 10, 279), and Liv. 34. 13, 5.

omniaque prona victoribus, repeated in H. 3. 64, 1 (cp. 'pronum,' c. 1, 2), and taken from Sallust's 'omnia virtuti suae prona esse' (Jug. 114, 2). The passage shows also a general reminiscence of Cat. 58, 9. For the form of 'victoribus' ('if we conquer') cp. A. 13. 57, 3, and note.

13. **silvas evasisse**: cp. c. 44, 5; A. 1. 51, 8, and note. Several other compounds of 'e' are thus used.

aestuaria: cp. c. 20, 2, and note.

14. **in frontem**. The opposition shows that this must have the sense of 'as we advance,' but the unprecedented expression is extremely harsh and difficult to explain. It is perhaps best to

prosperrima sunt; neque enim nobis aut locorum eadem notitia aut commeatuum eadem abundantia, sed manus et arma et in his omnia. quod ad me attinet, iam pridem mihi 6
decretum est neque exercitus neque ducis terga tuta esse. proinde et honesta mors turpi vita potior, et incolumitas ac decus eodem loco sita sunt; nec inglorium fuerit in ipso terrarum ac naturae fine cecidisse.'

34. 'Si novae gentes atque ignota acies constitisset, aliorum exercituum exemplis vos hortarer: nunc vestra decora recensete, vestros oculos interrogate. hi sunt, quos proximo anno unam legionem furto noctis adgressos clamore debellastis; hi ceterorum Britannorum fugacissimi ideoque tam diu super-

5. et honesta . . . potior after sita sunt, and et om. before incolumitas Nipp. 12. ceterorum after ideoque Bährens.

supply the sense of such a word as 'spectantibus,' 'looking to the front,' i. e. to our line of advance, or a verb of motion, as 'progredientibus.' To take it (with L.) as equivalent to 'in speciem' is to lose the antithesis; nor does W.'s reference to 'in summam' (A. 13. 38, 1; H. 2. 16, 1) appear relevant, or K.'s explanation ('ut frons hostibus obvertatur') possible.

ita. Peter defends the antithesis 'ut . . . item' from Cic. Off. 2. 14, 51; Tusc. 5. 3, 9, but that of 'ut . . . ita' is constant in Tacitus (c. 6, 4; 22, 4; 32, 1, &c.) and compendia of the two words could very easily be confused.

2. **manus et arma**: cp. c. 25, 3; and 'in armis omnia sita,' Sall. Jug. 51, 4.

4. **decretum est**, 'iudicavi': Dr. compares 'in quo omnia mea posita esse decrevi,' Cic. ad F. 2. 6, 3.

5. **proinde**, here = 'igitur': cp. H. 1. 21, 4; 56, 6, &c. In the following sentences, the transposition advocated by Nipp. (Rh. Mus. xviii. 364) connects the ideas better than the usual order, but seems less necessary than in c. 30, 4. It is possible (with Schoene) to take 'turpi vita potior' as in apposition.

6. **eodem loco sita sunt**, i. e. must be won or lost together: cp. 'intuta quae indecora,' H. 1. 33, 5.

fuerit, potential.

7. **naturae**, 'the world,' so 'illuc usque . . . natura' of the furthest ocean in G. 45, 1, and 'naturae inane' in Plin. N. H. 30. 1, 4, 13. Here it is used rhetorically of the land.

8. **Si**, &c. A. notes the abruptness of the transition.

constitisset, 'had stood to face you': cp. c. 35, 3, &c.

9. **decora**, 'glories,' 'noble deeds'; so 'tanti decoris testia' (A. 15. 50, 7), 'referre sua decora' (Liv. 21. 43, 17), &c.; and answering to 'res gestae' in Liv. 7. 33, 6.

10. **oculos interrogate**; i. e. ask yourselves whether you do not see the same enemy before you. The sentiment resembles that in Liv. 21. 40, 5; 41, 6.

proximo anno, c. 26, 1.

11. **furto noctis**, 'by surprise at night'; so 'furtum noctis obstare non patiar' (Curt. 4. 13, 9), 'furta belli' (Sall. H. 1. 86, D, K, 97 G.): the sense of 'fraude loci et noctis' (Verg. Aen. 9, 397) seems different.

clamore, 'by your mere war-shout.'

12. **ceterorum . . . fugacissimi.** This Graecism (cp. Soph. Ant. 100; Thucyd. 1. 1, 1, &c.) is repeated in H. 1. 50, 6 ('solus omnium ante se'), where see Heräus; and is here softened by the following 'superstites.' In A. 2. 15, 2, Arminius is made to call the Roman army 'Variani exercitus fugacissimos.'

2 stites. quo modo silvas saltusque penetrantibus fortissimum
quodque animal contra ruere, pavida et inertia ipso agminis
sono pellebantur, sic acerrimi Britannorum iam pridem ceci-
3 derunt, reliquus est numerus ignavorum et metuentium. quos
quod tandem invenistis, non restiterunt, sed deprehensi sunt;
novissimae res et extremus metus corpora defixere ~~[aciem]~~
in his vestigiis, in quibus pulchram et spectabilem victoriam
4 ederetis. transigite cum expeditionibus, imponite quin-

2. quoque (quodque puto Γ^m) : quodque P. animal robore P, ruebat A, ruerat Urlichs, ruere . . . Ritt. 3. pelluntur P, pelli solent, solebant al. 5. quod tamdiu non inv. sic legendum puto Γ^m. 6. novissime Γ. et extremo metu : extremus metus Schoemann, Gudeman ; et and aciem om. W ; aciem om. al. and Gudeman, torpore Schoemann, extremo metu torpor Ritt., Halm, res extremo metu torpidam Url., novisimi nimirum et e. m. torpidi Peter.

1. **quo modo**, often used by Tacitus for 'quemadmodum,' and thus followed by 'sic': cp. A. 4. 35, 3; G. 19, 4, and notes.

penetrantibus (cp. c. 27, 1), best taken as a concise abl. abs.: cp. c. 18, 7.

fortissimum, &c. If 'pellebantur' is right, the tense would show that the remark is not general, but intended to refer to the campaigns which they had gone through. Hence many would take 'ruere' (with Spengel) as a perfect; Tacitus being (as Peter here shows) very fond of such perfect forms. But it is difficult to suppose that he would have used it where it was so liable to be ambiguous. Such a use of the historical inf. with the imperf. as that in A. 3. 26, 3 ('postquam exui . . . et . . . incedebat') is hardly parallel, and unless 'ruebat' or 'ruerat' is to be read, it seems likely that some words further describing the action of the bolder animals may have dropped out.

4. **reliquus**, &c., 'what is left is the mass of weaklings and cowards': cp. Hor. Ep. 1. 2, 27 ('numerus sumus'). So Cerialis is made to say (H. 5. 16, 4) 'superesse, qui fugam animis, qui vulnera tergo ferant.'

5. **quod . . . invenistis**, 'as to the fact that you have found them.' Such a use of 'quod' is noted as found here alone in Tacitus, and in the following words the construction is compressed. We should expect something like 'scitote eos non restitisse.' Peter cites H. 3. 36, 1, &c.

non restiterunt, &c., 'they have not made a stand, but have been caught,' fight only because they can fly no further. We have a reminiscence of Liv. 21. 40, 6, 'nec nunc illi quia audent sed quia necesse est pugnaturi sunt.'

6. **novissimae res**, 'their extremity': cp. 'novissimum casum' (H. 2. 48, 4; A. 12. 33, 2), 'novissima' (A. 6. 50, 8), &c. The word is coupled with 'extremus' in G. 24, 3. As regards the following words, it is plain that 'corpora' and 'aciem' cannot both stand; and the best explanation appears to be that of Prof. Gudeman, that 'et' indicates that a nominative is coupled with 'novissimae res,' and that 'aciem' is a gloss on 'corpora,' which, as the more contemptuous term, is here more rhetorically suitable. 'Extremus metus' would thus be an enallage for 'extremarum rerum metus.' It is no doubt also possible that 'corpora' represents 'torpor' or 'torpore'; also the emendation of Urlichs, though somewhat more violent, has some support as nearer to the possible reminiscence of Liv. 22. 53, 6 ('quod malum . . . cum . . . torpidos defixisset'). Cp. A. 1. 68, 2, and note, and the description in A. 14. 30, 1.

7. **in his vestigiis**, 'on that ground on which you stand': cp. 'mori in vestigio' (Liv. 22. 49, 4; H. 4. 60, 4), &c.

8. **ederetis**, 'were destined to show forth': cp. 'pars . . . imperii fierent,' G. 29, 1. The sense of 'edere' is

quaginta annis magnum diem, adprobate rei publicae numquam exercitui imputari potuisse aut moras belli aut causas rebellandi.'

35. Et adloquente adhuc Agricola militum ardor eminebat, et finem orationis ingens alacritas consecuta est, statimque ad arma discursum. instinctos ruentesque ita disposuit, ut 2
peditum auxilia, quae octo milium erant, mediam aciem firmarent, equitum tria milia cornibus adfunderentur. legiones pro vallo stetere, ingens victoriae decus citra Romanum sanguinem bellandi, et auxilium, si pellerentur. Britannorum 3
acies in speciem simul ac terrorem editioribus locis constiterat ita, ut primum agmen in aequo, ceteri per adclive iugum

2. imputare Δ. 9. victori Peerlkamp. 10. bellanti R, Halm, bellantibus H. Schütz, [citra. . . bellandi] W. pelleretur Gesner. 12. agmine quo : text Bekker.

analogous to that of 'edere spectaculum,' &c.

transigite, 'have done with': cp. 'semel transigitur' (G. 19, 3), &c.; an extension of the classical 'transigere cum aliquo.'

imponite, &c., 'crown with one great day'; analogous to 'finem imponere.'

quinquaginta, a stretch of rhetoric: only forty-two years had intervened since the invasion of Claudius.

1. **adprobate,** 'prove' (cp. A. 3. 12, 8; 15. 24, 2); so with acc. and inf. in H. 1. 3, 3.

2. **exercitui,** to want of spirit in the soldiers. Some of the obstacles to submission are noted in c. 19, and causes of rebellion in c. 15.

4. **militum ardor,** repeated in A. 2. 15, 1; cp. A. 14. 36, 5.

6. **instinctos,** 'inspirited': cp. c. 16, 1. 'Ruere' is so used by itself of charging the enemy in c. 37, 3; H. 3. 82, 6; 4. 78, 3.

ita disposuit: on the troops present see Introd. p. 48. The 3000 horse here mentioned are distinct from the four 'alae' of c. 37, 1.

7. **milium:** for the genit. cf. Caes. B. G. 5. 5, 3; Liv. 6. 22, 8, &c.

firmarent, 'should make a strong centre' (cp. c. 14, 4, and note), taken almost verbatim from Liv. 22. 46, 3.

8. **adfunderentur,** 'spread over,' apparently ἅπ. εἰρ. in this sense: 'circumfundere' or 'circumfundi' is so used of horse in A. 3. 46, 5; 12. 27, 3, &c.

9. **pro vallo,** probably 'in front of' (cp. A. 2. 80, 5; 3. 20, 2, &c.), not 'along,' or 'upon' (as in H. 1. 36, 4; 2. 26, 3).

victoriae, dative, 'if they conquered': cp. 'victoribus,' c. 33, 4. A. notes that 'decus' is in apposition with the whole sentence, 'auxilium' with 'legiones' only.

citra, 'stopping short of shedding (i.e. without shedding: cp. c. 1, 3. and note) Roman blood': 'citra sanguinem' is found in Sen. de Cl. 1. 25, 1; 'citra vulnus' in Plin. N. H. 20. 21, 84, 225; and this, as well as the similarity in sentiment to A. 3. 39, 3 ('sine nostro sanguine'), and 14. 23, 4 ('hostilem audaciam externo sanguine ultus est') is against regarding the words as an interpolation.

10. **bellandi.** This can be taken as defining 'decus': cp. 'effugium prorumpendi' (A. 2. 47, 2), also A. 3. 63, 6 and note, Madvig 286, Roby 1302, and Peter here. The emendation 'bellanti' is therefore not necessary.

pellerentur. The subject ('auxilia') is supplied from the sense.

11. **in speciem,** &c., 'for show and to strike terror.' The words are joined in A. 2. 6, 3, and the latter explains the former as it explains 'altitudinem' in

conexi velut insurgerent; media campi covinnarius eques 4 strepitu ac discursu complebat. tum Agricola superante hostium multitudine veritus, ne in frontem simul et latera suorum pugnaretur, diductis ordinibus, quamquam porrectior acies futura erat et arcessendas plerique legiones admonebant, promptior in spem et firmus adversis, dimisso equo pedes ante vexilla constitit.

36. Ac primo congressu eminus certabatur; simulque constantia, simul arte Britanni ingentibus gladiis et brevibus

1. conuexi: connexi P., velut conexi Nipp. conuinnarius (also in c. 36, 3) Γ, couinarius (in c. 36, 3 couinnarii) Δ. et eques R. 3. ne simul in: ne in Fröhlich, simul in latera Ritt. 5. intuta erat Bährens. 8. simulque (que expunged in first hand) Γ.

G. 38, 4. A. notes that 'simul' is thus rhetorical amplification only.

1. **conexi velut insurgerent.** We should expect 'velut' to stand before 'conexi' (still more so if 'convexi' were read), and the difficulty is hardly removed by taking the whole as one idea (with W.). Perhaps, as A. notes, 'insurgerent' is sufficiently figurative to have 'velut' before it, denoting that the ranks standing behind one another on ascending ground seemed to rise threateningly against them (cp. 'exsurgeret,' H. 2. 14, 4). If the words are to be transposed, the expression would resemble 'ut conserta acies' (A. 6. 35, 2).

media campi, 'the intervening space of plain.'

covinnarius eques. The adjective is found only here and in c. 36, 3, but the 'covinnus' or 'covinus,' the war-chariot of Britons, is spoken of in Mela 3. 6, 52; Sil. It. 17. 417, and that of Belgic Gauls in Luc. 1. 426, and Romans had a carriage called after it (Mart. 12. 24, 1). See on c. 12, 1. The Celtic word is a combination of 'vignos' ('plaustrum') with a prefixed particle (Holder). The emendation 'et eques' presumes that the enemy had cavalry as well as chariots; but although the Britons generally were not without such (see on c. 12, 1), the Caledonians may have had none, and none seem to be mentioned in this battle.

2. **strepitu ac discursu**, apparently equivalent to 'strepitu discurrentium.'

superante . . . multitudine, repeated in H. 4. 28, 5.

3. **ne in frontem**, &c. In support of the omission of the first 'simul' Wölfflin notes (Philol. xxvi. p. 112) that 'simul' . . . 'simul et' is not Tacitean, and 'simul' . . . 'simul' is used with simple cases (c. 25, 1; 36, 1; 41, 4).

4. **diductis**, &c., 'extending his line.' Livy has 'diductis cornibus' (31. 21, 14), which Dr. thinks may have been written here.

porrectior, 'too thin.' As a simple comparative this would be (as Bährens notes) a mere truism. Livy has 'in longitudinem porrecta acies' (25. 21, 6); the comparative occurs in Plaut. The future participle is used of what is foreseen or expected, as 'peccaturos' (c. 19, 3), &c.

6. **promptior**, often so used with 'in' or 'ad.' The construction is changed to a simple case (perhaps here a concise abl. abs.), as often elsewhere (c. 20, 4, &c.). The words describe his general character as 'hopeful in disposition, and resolute in face of difficulties.'

pedes: cp. 'ante signa pedes ire,' H. 2. 11, 6. Similar examples were set by Caesar (B. G. 1. 25, 1) and Catiline (Sall. Cat. 59, 1).

7. **vexilla**, those of the auxiliaries.

8. **constantia . . . arte**, 'intrepidly and dexterously.' It seems best to take these ablatives as modal, 'gladiis' and 'caetris' as instrumental, to which the infinitives 'vitare' and 'excutere' answer chiastically. 'Keeping off with their shields (cp. Liv. 38. 21, 3) or

caetris missilia nostrorum vitare vel excutere, atque ipsi magnam vim telorum superfundere, donec Agricola Batavorum cohortes ac Tungrorum duas cohortatus est, ut rem ad mucrones ac manus adducerent; quod et ipsis vetustate militiae exercitatum et hostibus inhabile, parva scuta et enormes gladios gerentibus; nam Britannorum gladii sine mucrone complexum armorum et in arto pugnam non tolera-

2. $\overset{B}{\text{V}}$atauorum (and uataui below) Γ, Bat. Δ, tres Batavorum R, Batavorum quinque Ritt. 5. [parva . . . gerentibus] W, [nam . . . tolerabant] Haase, [parva . . . tolerabant] Nipp. 7. in aperto: text Fr. Medicis.

parrying with their swords' (cp. 'obliquis ictibus tela deflectere,' Veg. 1. 4). K. and A. would take 'gladiis' and 'caetris' as ablatives of quality, like 'legionariis armis' in A. 3. 43, 2. The weapons may be compared to the Highland targe and claymore: for an illustration of the 'caetra,' or 'cetra,' see D. of Ant. s. v.

2. **Batavorum cohortes.** Unless some number, answering to 'duas,' has been lost, this must mean 'the Batavian cohorts,' i. e. those which he had in his force. There had once been eight attached to the Fourteenth legion in Britain (H. 1. 59, 2), but since the rebellion of A. D. 69 it is not likely that so many were together. A 'cohors I Batavorum' is mentioned in a British 'diploma' of A. D. 124 (C. I. L. vii. 1195: cp. also 617, &c.), a 'cohors I Tungrorum miliaria,' there and in earlier diplomata of A. D. 98, 103, and 105 (Eph. Ep. iv. p. 500; C. I. L. vii. 1193, 1194), and elsewhere, a 'cohors II Tungrorum' in several inscriptions of uncertain date (C. I. L. vii. Index, p. 337). The Batavians lived in the island formed by the bifurcation of the lower Rhine (see G. 29, &c.), the Tungri were a German tribe settled in the district of Tongres near Liege (G. 2, 5, and note).

3. **rem ad mucrones,** &c.: cp. Liv. 2. 46, 3, 'pugna iam ad manus, iam ad gladios . . . venerat'; 34. 46, 10, 'dextris . . . gladiisque gerebatur res.' Here 'mucrones' is used, to fix attention on the distinction between the Roman and the British sword.

5. **inhabile,** 'awkward': cp. 'tegimen . . . inhabile,' H. 1. 79, 6, &c., used of persons in A. 3. 43, 3.

parva, &c. It is possible that both explanations ('parva . . . gerentibus' and 'nam . . . tolerabant') are genuine, as they do not altogether repeat each other. The smallness of their shields and great size of their swords were disadvantages, and the pointlessness of the latter an additional disadvantage at close quarters. If either part is a gloss the first sentence is most open to suspicion, as it repeats what has been already mentioned ('brevibus caetris et ingentibus gladiis'). On the Caledonian weapons of later date see Introd. p. 29. Livy speaks (22. 46, 5) of the Gaulish swords as 'praelongi et sine mucronibus,' and contrasts them with the Spanish. This long iron sword, too flexible for thrusting, and therefore made without a point, is very different from the short, pointed, leaf-shaped sword of the bronze age (see Boyd-Dawkins, p. 364).

7. **complexum armorum,** 'a grapple,' crossing swords hand to hand. The expression (ἅπ. εἰρ.) resembles in idea some found in poetry as 'haeret pede pes densusque viro vir,' 'implicuere inter se acies, legitque virum vir' (Verg. Aen. 10, 361; 11, 632), &c. In battle generally the Britons seem to have relied on their greater agility and rapidity of movement as against Roman soldiers (see Caes. B. G. 5. 16).

in arto. This correction seems required by sense and context, and a scribe might easily have confounded 'arto' with 'apto.' Cp. 'in arto pugna aptior Romano quam Hispano' (Liv. 28. 33, 9), and the description of the Germans in A. 2. 21, 1 'cum ingens multitudo artis locis praelongas hastas non protenderet, non colligeret.'

2 bant. igitur ut Batavi miscere ictus, ferire umbonibus, ora fodere, et stratis qui in aequo adstiterant, erigere in colles aciem coepere, ceterae cohortes aemulatione et impetu conisae proximos quosque caedere: ac plerique semineces aut integri
3 festinatione victoriae relinquebantur. interim equitum turmae, *ut* fugere covinnarii, peditum se proelio miscuere. et quamquam recentem terrorem intulerant, densis tamen hostium agminibus et inaequalibus locis haerebant; minimeque ~~eque-~~ aequa

2. foedare Γ, foede recti $\Gamma^{m.}$, faedare Δ, fodere Gesner. tratis (trates uel traces $\Gamma^{m.}$): stratis Ernesti, tractis, fractis al. 3. capere Δ. 4. cedere Γ. 6. ut ins. Doed., ubi (or fugere enim) W, [fugere covinnarii] Ritt. 8. minimeque equestres: ea (ei Γ^2) enim pugnae: text A, equestris ea pugnae R., eq. ea iam pugnae Haase, aequa nostris iam pugnae Anquetil, Halm.

tolerabant, predicated of ships in A. 2. 6, 2, as 'pati' of the sea in H. 5. 6, 5. Here the swordsmen rather than the swords are thought of, or the latter are very boldly personified.

1. **miscere ictus**, 'plant blow upon blow,' analogous to 'miscere manus' (A. 2. 15, 3), 'vulnera miscent' (Verg. Aen. 12, 720), and other metaphors in Dr. S. u. S. § 248 h. Cp. 'denserent ictus,' A. 2. 14, 4.

2. **fodere.** This emendation is generally accepted: 'foedare' would be somewhat out of place by the side of plain words like 'miscere ictus,' 'ferire,' the citation of H. 3. 77, 3 ('verberibus foedatus') is not parallel, and 'fodere' is a regular word for stabbing (A. 2. 21, 1; H. 1. 79, 7; 4. 29, 4, &c.). Even in a Roman soldier the face was the most vulnerable part, and most barbarians had no helmets. See A. 2. 14, 4, and note.

adstiterant. 'Adsisto' has often the military sense of taking position: cp. H. 3. 82, 3; A. 2. 17, 4; 19, 4, &c.

erigere: cp. c. 18, 3.

3. **conisae**: cp. 'studio laetitiaque conixi,' H. 4. 53, 3. The ablatives are best taken as modal.

4. **proximos quosque.** Wölfflin notes (Philol. xxvi. 150) that in such superlative constructions Tacitus in his later writings keeps to the singular (cp. H. 1. 55, 1; A. 13. 15, 5; 15. 15, 6), but has 'praecipui quique' (A. 14. 31, 3).

semineces, a poetical word, also in Livy.

5. **festinatione victoriae**, 'through the eagerness of victory': cp. 'festinatione consectandi,' H. 3. 25, 2.

interim, &c. The text in Γ is stopped so as to show the construction to be 'equitum turmae fugere, convinnarii . . . miscuere'; the 'equites' being thus Britons and the 'hostes' below the Romans. But no British horse appear to be present (see on c. 35, 3), and 'turmae,' rarely used of other than Roman cavalry, apparently here refers to those on the wings (c. 35, 2), who must no doubt have repelled the chariots before the infantry could close. To treat 'fugere covinnarii' as a gloss is to leave the disappearance of this force from the battle wholly unexplained, and to make the words an abrupt parenthesis would be very awkward, and would seem to require 'fugerant'; whence the supposition that 'ut' or 'enim' has dropped out has very generally commended itself; and it is possible to suppose, with Urlichs, that the latter word has been misplaced three lines below.

7. **recentem terrorem.** The same phrase in A. 14. 23, 1 (cp. Liv. 36. 9, 13) seems to mean the terror struck by recent victory, such as would be here their repulse of the chariots. Dr. takes it to mean 'sudden,' Peter the terror of a new force appearing on the scene.

8. **haerebant**, 'they were impeded'; so with abl. in A. 1. 65, 4 (where see note), and in Livy (see W.): the enemy did not give way as they expected.

minimeque, &c. I have followed A. in considering that a slight emendation,

stris ei pugnae facies erat, cum †egra diu aut stante simul equorum corporibus impellerentur; ac saepe vagi currus, exterriti sine rectoribus equi, ut quemque formido tulerat, transversos aut obvios incursabant.

37. Et Britanni, qui adhuc pugnae expertes summa collium insederant et paucitatem nostrorum vacui spernebant, degredi paulatim et circumire terga vincentium coeperant, ni id ipsum veritus Agricola quattuor equitum alas, ad subita belli retentas, venientibus opposuisset, quantoque ferocius adcucurrerant, tanto acrius pulsos in fugam disiecisset. ita consilium 2 Britannorum in ipsos versum, transvectaeque praecepto ducis a fronte pugnantium alae aversam hostium aciem invasere. tum vero patentibus locis grande et atrox spectaculum: sequi,

1. in gradu stantes R., aegre diu (iam diu W) stantes Brotier, instantes, adstantes, ante stantes al.; aegre clivo instantes Schoemann, Halm, e gradu aut statu Eussner, e gradu aut stantes . . . simul Ritt. 5. expertis Γ. 6. digredi Δ. 7. in id Δ. 9. occurrerant Δ.

by treating 'enim' as either misplaced (see note above), or as having arisen from dittography of 'ei,' or as a corruption of 'iam,' will make the words down to 'erat' intelligible, but that beyond that no satisfactory restoration is possible. For 'pugnae facies' cp. H. 2. 42, 4, &c.; also c. 38, 2. Tacitus may have had before his eyes the description of a conflict of cavalry 'minime equestris more pugnae' at Cannae (Liv. 22. 47, 1), and of another 'non ut equestri proelio solet' in Sall. Jug. 59, 3, and may have meant here to describe horsemen as having to force their way through a solid mass. The corrupt words probably also represent some mention of the difficulty of forcing their way uphill against the vantage ground of the enemy; but we cannot tell whether the Romans or Britons are the subject of 'impellerentur.'

3. **exterriti**, &c., taken from Sall. H. 1. 96 D, 98 K, 104 G, 'Equi sine rectoribus exterriti aut saucii consternantur.'

4. **transversos aut obvios**, 'in flank or front.' Here again we cannot tell who are spoken of; but the next words seem to show that, though the Romans are called 'vincentes,' their progress was difficult, and that the British reserve was thereby induced to advance.

5. **Britanni**, those in the rear (c. 35, 3).

6. **vacui** = 'otiosi,' and explained by (or, as some think, a gloss on) 'pugnae expertes': in H. 4, 17, 7, opposed to 'occupati.' Some take it to mean 'securi' (cp. Med. A. 2. 46, 1), which seems hardly suitable to their position.

7. **vincentium**, 'the victorious side'; so A. 1. 63, 3; H. 4. 78, 4.

coeperant, i. e. they had begun to do so and would have done so; rhetorically putting what would have happened as if it had happened. See c. 13, 4, and note.

8. **subita belli**, 'emergencies'; so in Liv. 6. 32, 5; 25. 15, 20: in H. 5. 13, 5, the sense is different.

10. **consilium**, that of attacking in rear; explained by the conjunction in the next sentence.

12. **aversam**, on the opposite side (H. 2. 51, 2; 3. 84, 4; A. 1. 66, 2); i. e. in the rear.

13. **tum vero**, &c. The description, evidently imitated from Sall. Jug. 101, 11, is partly repeated in H. 3. 17, 4 'ceteri, ut cuique ingenium, spoliare, capere, arma equosque abripere';

3 vulnerare, capere, atque eosdem oblatis aliis trucidare. iam hostium, prout cuique ingenium erat, catervae armatorum paucioribus terga praestare, quidam inermes ultro ruere ac se morti offerre. passim arma et corpora et laceri artus et cruenta humus; et aliquando etiam victis ira virtusque.
4 postquam silvis appropinquaverunt, idem primos sequentium incautos collecti et locorum gnari circumveniebant. quod ni frequens ubique Agricola validas et expeditas cohortes indaginis modo, et sicubi artiora erant, partem equitum dimissis equis, simul rariores silvas equitem persultare iussisset
5 acceptum aliquod vulnus per nimiam fiduciam foret. ceterum

1. ablatis: text R. 5. est aliquando Bosius, W., perhaps set Halm. 6. ntem (with †) Γ, item Δ, †item Halm, identidem Hutter, idem Goebel, Madvig, iterum, iam, inde, tum al. 7. ignari: ignaros P, gnari Dronke, ignaros gnari al. 9. modo . . . et Nipp. 10. equite persultari Γ, equites perlustrari Δ, text R., equitem perlustrare Urlichs, perscrutari Cornelissen, Halm.

whence Bährens would here put 'prout cuique ingenium' after 'trucidare.' But those words here make better sense as they stand.

2. **prout cuique ingenium**, 'as each was inclined' (to fly or face death): 'hostium' depends both on 'catervae' and 'quidam,' which are contrasted, as are also 'armatorum' and 'inermes.' Sallust has 'pro cuiusque ingenio,' 'pro ingenio quisque,' 'uti cuiusque ingenium' (Jug. 49, 4; 57, 4; 93, 7).

3. **terga praestare**, ἅπ. εἰρ. for 'dare,' 'praebere.'

ruere 'charge'; the sense of 'contra' (c. 34, 2) is here implied.

5. **aliquando**, &c., from Verg. Aen. 2, 367. These are distinguished from those who fled or flung away their lives.

6. **appropinquaverunt**: the subject (the Romans) is remote, whence Knaut thinks that 'nostri' must be inserted.

idem. A subject has been implied, but not expressed in the previous words, 'aliquando victis,' &c.; otherwise perhaps 'identidem,' 'repeatedly' (cp. A. 2. 79, 5; 11. 31, 3; H. 2. 46, 4; 78, 6), is somewhat nearer to the manuscript text.

7. **gnari.** This correction is supported by H. 2. 13, 1; 85, 4; 5. 6, 8. Tacitus seems to have had in mind Liv. 22. 31, 4 ('cum a frequentibus palantes, ab locorum gnaris ignari circumvenirentur'), but here 'incautos' and 'collecti' are not so opposed as to require another antithesis to balance them.

quod ni: cp. c. 26, 3.

8. **frequens**, 'always present'; so used with local ablative in A. 4. 3, 5; cp. H. 4. 69, 4. A. compares 'multus in agmine,' c. 20, 2.

9. **indaginis modo** (cp. A. 13. 42, 7, and note), a comparison so used of surrounding fugitives in Liv. 7. 37, 14, of an ambush in Caes. B. G. 8. 18, 1. Peter compares the Greek σαγηνεύειν (Hdt. 6. 31, 3). The cavalry forming part of this cordon are dismounted in the thicker, and mounted in the thinner parts of the forest.

10. **persultare.** 'Persultari' and 'perlustrari' have been defended; but to supply from the passive an active verb with the previous clauses is very awkward, and unless a verb has been lost above, some change is needed. 'Persultare' and 'perlustrare' are both Tacitean words, and the former seems here preferable as following the indication of the best MS. 'Perscrutari' is more remote, and, though a classical word, is not known in Tacitus. We need not suppose a zeugma, as 'persultare' has the general sense of 'pervagari' in A. 12. 40, 2, &c.

11. **vulnus**, so used metaphorically in c. 29, 1; 45, 5; H. 3. 56, 3.

ubi compositos firmis ordinibus sequi rursus videre, in fugam
versi, non agminibus, ut prius, nec alius alium respectantes,
rari et vitabundi in vicem longinqua atque avia petiere. finis
sequendi nox et satietas fuit. caesa hostium ad decem milia: **6**
nostrorum trecenti sexaginta cecidere, in quis Aulus Atticus
praefectus cohortis, iuvenili ardore et ferocia equi hostibus
inlatus.

38. Et nox quidem gaudio praedaque laeta victoribus:
Britanni palantes mixtoque virorum mulierumque ploratu
trahere vulneratos, vocare integros, deserere domos ac per
iram ultro incendere, eligere latebras et statim relinquere;
miscere in vicem consilia aliqua, dein separare; aliquando
frangi aspectu pignorum suorum, saepius concitari. satisque **2**
constabat saevisse quosdam in coniuges ac liberos, tamquam
misererentur. proximus dies faciem victoriae latius aperuit:

1. videre, rursus Peerlkamp. 2. uersis: versi P, versi, sed Bährens. sed alius Acid., sed rari editio Bipontina. 3. rari . . . in vicem perhaps a gloss W. 9. Britannique: text P. 12. [aliqua] Classen, Halm. dēin (deinde) Δ. 15. misererēt Δ.

1. **rursus**, i.e. after their check.

2. **agminibus**, modal abl.; cp. A. 4. 51, 1 ('catervis decurrentes'), and note.

3. **vitabundi in vicem**, 'avoiding each other'; analogous to a classical use of 'inter se': cp. A. 13. 2, 2, and note. There is no reason for taking these words to be a gloss.

finis sequendi: cp. 'finis insequendi hostis flumen,' Liv. 21. 56, 7.

4. **nox et satietas**; so 'nox' is coupled with 'laetitia' (H. 4. 14, 3), 'lascivia' (A. 13. 15, 3), &c. The idea here is that otherwise expressed in A. 1. 68, 6; 'vulgus trucidatum est donec ira et dies permansit.'

ad decem milia. This is no doubt a mere guess, but moderate as compared with such guesses elsewhere: cp. A. 14. 37, 5.

5. **nostrorum**, &c. As a general rule, Tacitus omits the number of Romans slain, and appears to have professed to follow Sallust in doing so. See Oros. 7. 10, 4, quoted in A. i. Introd. p. 32. The only exceptions besides this passage are found in A. 4. 73, 7; 14. 37, 5; H. 2. 17. 2.

Aulus Atticus, the only subordinate officer of Agricola mentioned in this treatise. Such a detail belongs rather to general history.

8. **gaudio praedaque**, the joy of victory and gain of plunder.

10. **trahere**, &c.: the accumulation of ten historical infinitives is remarkable. Dr. notes Sall. Jug. 66, 1, where there are eleven.

per iram: cp. c. 29, 1, and note.

12. **miscere . . . consilia aliqua**, 'take counsel of some sort together.' 'Aliqua' (needlessly taken to be an interpolation) seems contemptuous. 'Consilia' would be again supplied with 'separare' ('separatim capere'): i.e. then each took thought for himself.

13. **pignorum**, so used, without such a genit. as 'amoris,' after poets (Prop., Ov.) and Livy: cp. G. 7, 3; A. 12. 2, 1, &c.

14. **tamquam misererentur**, 'as if in pity,' to prevent their captivity. On the feeling of Germans in this respect cp. G. 8, 1. It is not necessary to suppose the pity to be a pretence.

15. **faciem**: cp. c. 36, 3. 'Aperire faciem' is a new phrase: the personification resembles that in Lucan 7, 787 ('dies . . . damna retexit'): cp. 'aciem

vastum ubique silentium, secreti colles, fumantia procul tecta,
3 nemo exploratoribus obvius. quibus in omnem partem di-
missis, ubi incerta fugae vestigia neque usquam conglobari
hostes compertum (et exacta iam aestate spargi bellum ne-
4 quibat), in fines Borestorum exercitum deducit. ibi acceptis
obsidibus, praefecto classis circumvehi Britanniam praecipit.
datae ad id vires, et praecesserat terror. ipse peditem atque
equites lento itinere, quo novarum gentium animi ipsa tran-
5 situs mora terrerentur, in hibernis locavit. et simul classis
secunda tempestate ac fama Trucculensem portum tenuit,
unde proximo Britanniae latere lecto omni redierat.

1. deserti Ernesti, Halm. 5. Horestorum P. 9. terrentur Δ. 10. trucülen^{s}tem Γ, trutu al. Γ$^{m.}$, trutulens est Δ, Truttulensem P. 11. proximo anno Madvig. litore and omnis Pichena. praelecta al. Γ$^{m.}$, omni om. Prammer. reditura erat or rediret Madvig.

dies aperuit,' 'detexit ignominiam . . . dies' (H. 4. 29, 4; 62, 4), 'annus novas gentis aperuit' (c. 22, 1).

1. **vastum . . . silentium,** 'the silence of desolation'; so in A. 4. 50, 6; H. 3. 13, 4; from Liv. 10. 34, 6.

secreti colles. If this text is sound, we must suppose that the ordinary meaning of 'secluded,' which would not be appropriate, passes here into that of 'solitary.' The 'secreta domus' of A. 14. 22, 3, cited by A., is hardly parallel; on the other hand the alteration to 'deserti' is somewhat violent.

3. **incerta fugae vestigia,** from Lucan, 8, 4.

conglobari: cp. A. 12. 7, 1; 31, 2, &c.; from Sallust and Livy.

4. **spargi,** 'to take a wider spread'; so 'spargit bellum,' A. 3. 21, 6; apparently from Lucan (2, 682; 3, 64), who may have followed Vergil's 'spargam arma' (Aen. 7, 551).

5. **Borestorum,** a wholly unknown people. His passing through them and taking hostages would show that they were between the scene of the battle and his winter-quarters, and one of the still hostile tribes, and so probably living north of the lines from Clyde to Forth, and within Caledonia; where their name may have become merged in some other by Ptolemy's time. The name has been thought to mean 'foresters' (Rhys, p. 277), and may connect them with the Caledonian forest: Stokes connects it with βορέας as = ὑπερβόρειοι. 'Horesti' has no manuscript authority known to us, and may be merely an error. An inscription which has been cited in support of it is now otherwise read.

6. **praecipit**; so with inf. in c. 46, 3; analogously to the use of many other verbs: see A. i. Introd. p. 54. On the voyage see c. 10, 5, Introd. p. 50.

7. **vires,** 'forces' (cp. A. 12. 9, 1, &c.). With these a landing was made on the Orcades (c. 10, 5).

peditem atque equites. Prof. Gudeman would alter the number of one of these, noting that Tacitus in combining these words never elsewhere varies the number, except in adversative clauses (as G. 6, 2) or different syntactical relations (as A. 14. 40, 4). It seems best to retain the text, noting it as an exceptional usage of this treatise. Cp. note on c. 17, 1.

8. **lento itinere**: cp. H. 2. 83, 1; 93, 4: the abl. is probably modal.

novarum gentium. It is implied that he is still passing through Caledonia.

9. **in hibernis.** We should suppose these to be on or near the lines between Clyde and Forth, and near the latter.

10. **secunda,** used by syllepsis with nouns belonging to different ideas.

Trucculensem. The locality, under whichever name it should be read, is unknown, but probably not far from the Firth of Forth. Hübner ('Heer'

39. Hunc rerum cursum, quamquam nulla verborum iactantia epistulis Agricolae auctum, ut Domitiano moris erat, fronte laetus, pectore anxius excepit. inerat conscientia de- **2**
risui fuisse nuper falsum e Germania triumphum, emptis per

1. in illa Δ. 2. actum: text L. al. ut erat Domitianus Γ^{m}., ut Domitianus erat Δ. 3. excipit Γ, coepit Δ, excepit P.

545) notes the 'Ugrulentum' of Geog. Rav. as perhaps the same name.

tenuit, 'took up its position in'; a nautical term often in Livy (22. 22, 2; 28. 18, 12, &c.).

11. **unde**, &c. With this reading, 'unde' is taken only with 'lecto,' the sense being 'quo, litore inde lecto, redierat': 'starting from whence it had coasted along all the adjoining side of Britain, and to which it had returned.' Clearness is, as often, sacrificed to conciseness. Peter compares A. 15. 43, 3, &c. The voyage would thus be supposed to have taken place between the date of the command issued (§ 4) and the winter, i. e. during the indefinite time occupied by his 'lentum iter.' Madvig supposes that it could not have taken place so late in the season (cp. 'exacta aestate'), and that the fleet was collected there to make the voyage next spring. But the season of the year is confirmed by 'hiems adpetebat' (c. 10, 6), and the time required need not have been long; as it would be sufficient to establish the insularity of Britain if they reached any point already known (such as the Firth of Clyde or perhaps further north) on the western coast; and the descent on the Orkneys and sighting 'Thule' (c. 10, 6) would not be a great divergence; but the weather must have been exceptionally favourable if they were endangered by no autumnal storms. That Tacitus should mention the subject so cursorily is explained by Agricola's having taken no personal share in the voyage; in a general history we should expect a more circumstantial account of it.

2. **epistulis.** Probably only one despatch was sent in the year (cp. c. 18, 7); but Tacitus very frequently uses this plural (as 'litterae' is always used) of a single letter.

auctum. 'Actum' in this context could only mean 'performed'; 'auctum' can be used in the sense of 'exaggerated' with 'cuncta' (A. 2. 82, 1) and other words implying statements; so possibly here with 'rerum cursum' in the pregnant sense of 'the news of this course of events.'

ut Domitiano moris erat, for 'Domitianus, ut ei moris erat,' an attraction apparently due to straining after conciseness. 'Moris est' is thus followed by a dative in c. 42, 5; G. 13, 1; Quint. 1. 1, 13 ('plerisque moris est'), more commonly by genit., as 'moris est Graecorum' (Cic. Verr. ii. 1. 26, 66).

3. **fronte**, 'outwardly': Knaut compares 'fronte an mente,' Cic. Att. 4. 15, 7.

inerat conscientia, 'he felt conscious'; so 'quis flagitii conscientia inerat,' H. 4. 41, 1.

derisui fuisse. This dative expressing that which a thing (or person) serves as or occasions, or predicative dative (Roby 1158), most frequent in words in 'ui,' and especially used with the verb 'esse,' is common in Tacitus. See A. i. Introd. p. 47, § 23. This word is so used in Phaedr. 1. 11, 2, but only here by Tacitus.

4. **falsum . . . triumphum.** Domitian is generally believed to have triumphed twice for successes in Germany; the former occasion (that here referred to) being after the expedition against the Chatti, dated by good evidence (see Gsell) in A.D. 83 ('nuper' is used of an event a year ago in c. 32, 4), when the frontier was advanced and secured in the Taunus district (see Momms. Hist. v. 136, E. T. i. 150), the other, the 'duplex de Chattis Dacisque triumphus' of Suet. Dom. 6, where (unless the Chatti are confounded with the Marcomani) it may be implied that they were chastised for their alliance with Antonius Saturninus. This Gsell shows reasons for placing about Nov. 89. In Eus. Chron. ('Domitianus de Dacis et Germanis triumphavit') and in Suet.

commercia, quorum habitus et crines in captivorum speciem formarentur: at nunc veram magnamque victoriam tot mili-
3 bus hostium caesis ingenti fama celebrari. id sibi maxime formidolosum, privati hominis nomen supra principis attolli: frustra studia fori et civilium artium decus in silentium acta, si militarem gloriam alius occuparet; et cetera utcumque facilius dissimulari, ducis boni imperatoriam virtutem esse.
4 talibus curis exercitus, quodque saevae cogitationis indicium

1. crinis: crines P. 4. principem Nipp. 6. et om. W., Halm. 8. quodue Δ.

(l. 1.) this triumph alone is noticed, whence some, as Merivale (vii. p. 93), think that this latter was the only triumph, and that Tacitus was misled into antedating it by Domitian's assumption of the title 'Germanicus' (wrongly dated in Suet. 13 as 'post duos triumphos,' i.e. in 89) in or before A. D. 84. But it is unlikely that this title, and the issue (in or before A. D. 85) of coins inscribed 'Germania Capta' (Cohen i. 482, n. 135), was unaccompanied by a triumph, of which Tacitus was probably an eye-witness. Also Martial speaks of 'vestri . . . triumphi' in 1. 4, 3 (written not later than 86). That the triumph was a sham (cp. G. 37, 6) is maintained in Dio. 67. 4, 1 (μηδ' ἑορακώς που πόλεμον), and Plin. Pan. 16 ('mimicos currus, falsa simulacra victoriae'); but, without taking account of the flattery of court poets, there is no doubt that the frontier was substantially and permanently advanced: see Introd. p. 54; G. 29, 4, and note. Frontinus (who may have served in the expedition) says (2. 11, 7) 'victis hostibus Germanici nomen meruit,' and speaks of his justice to the Germans, and again (2. 3, 23) speaks of him as directing a battle.

per commercia, 'in the ordinary traffic,' i. e. anywhere: cp. c. 28, 5; G. 24, 4.

1. **quorum**, &c., a similar trick had been ascribed to Gaius (Suet. Cal. 47), which casts a doubt on the story here. On German hair cp. c. 11, 2, and note: for 'in speciem' cp. c. 35, 3.

2. **at nunc** (cp. c. 1, 4). This seems capable of depending on 'inerat conscientia,' without (with K.) supposing a zeugma. Clemm (p. 94) makes it an instance in which an accus. and inf. in 'oratio obliqua' is added to a substantive with a verb of thinking, feeling, or saying implied: cp. H. 5. 20, 1; A. 6. 30, 4, &c. The adjectives are the true predicate: 'the victory which was now extolled was real and great.'

3. **id**, explained by the following words: 'formidolosum' as in c. 7, 5.

4. **privati**, 'a subject,' as in H. 1. 49, 7, &c.

5. **frustra**, &c., 'to no purpose had forensic eloquence, and the distinguished accomplishments of civil life been suppressed and silenced, if any other than himself should grasp military fame.' Cp. 'studiis civilibus' (used of a jurist in A. 3. 75, 1). This probably does not refer to the expulsion of philosophers, which is to be dated later (see c. 2, 2, and note), but to the general repression of Domitian's rule as a whole (c. 3, 2). So Pliny says (Ep. 8. 14, 2), 'priorum temporum servitus ut aliarum optimarum artium sic etiam iuris senatorii oblivionem quandam et ignorantiam induxit.' Cp. also Pan. 66, 76.

6. **et cetera**, &c. Nipp. (Rh. Mus. xix. 1864, p. 111) notes that 'et' is needed, as a new point is added in the paramount importance of military reputation. 'And talent of other kinds could more easily be somehow ignored' (for 'utcunque' cp. A. 2. 14, 4, and note, for 'dissimulari,' A. 4. 19, 4), i. e. if Domitian were surpassed in eloquence or political gifts, he need not be uneasy, for it might not be noticed; 'but eminence in good generalship was an imperial quality;' all would think it significant if a subject outstripped an emperor in that.

8. **exercitus**, 'agitated': the phrase seems taken from Verg. Aen. 5, 779.

quodque, &c., 'what betokened a deadly purpose,' in apposition to the

erat, secreto suo satiatus, optimum in praesentia statuit reponere odium, donec impetus famae et favor exercitus languesceret: nam etiam tum Agricola Britanniam obtinebat.

40. Igitur triumphalia ornamenta et inlustris statuae honorem et quidquid pro triumpho datur, multo verborum honore cumulata, decerni in senatu iubet addique insuper opinionem, Suriam provinciam Agricolae destinari, vacuam tum morte Atilii Rufi consularis et maioribus reservatam. credidere 2
plerique libertum ex secretioribus ministeriis missum ad

2. excitus Δ, Bährens. 6. additque Mur. 8. Atili Γ, Actilii Δ.

following words, in which the stress is laid on 'secreto,' 'feeding his hatred in his usual reserve' (cp. c. 22, 5). His periods of retirement and brooding are spoken of in Plin. Pan. 48, and his seclusion in his Alban villa (c. 45, 1) in many places.

1. **in praesentia**, for the more common 'in praesens' (A. 1. 4, 1, &c.); the case is best taken as abl. sing., as it clearly is in Sen. Ep. 52, 15; 72, 1.

2. **reponere**, 'to store up'; not at present to betray it: cp. the description of the habit of Tiberius, 'odia recondere auctaque promere' (A. 1. 69, 7), and his 'animus revolvens iras' (A. 4. 21, 2).

impetus . . . languesceret: cp. 'impetus offensionis languerat,' A. 4. 21, 2; also A. 12. 12, 3; H. 3. 58, 6.

3. **nam, &c.** Nipp. (Rh. Mus. xviii. 362, foll.) considers these words to be a gloss, as standing in no proper causal relation to the preceding sentence, where we should rather expect some such words as 'donec Agricola rediret.' But the sentence seems related to the subject of the next chapter, and might be understood with reference to something implied, as that he did not dare to strike while Agricola's glory and popularity with the army continued, and that these could not be expected to abate, while he remained in the province.

4. **triumphalia ornamenta**, called also 'triumphalia insignia' (A. 1. 72, 1, &c.), the only triumphal honour given to those not belonging to the imperial family, apparently from and after B. C. 14 (Dio, 54. 24, 8). The term is analogous to 'consularia,' 'praetoria ornamenta,' &c. (fictions by which the title and dignity of an office was given without the office itself), and entitled a person to be styled 'triumphalis' (A. 3. 30, 4, &c.), and to wear the 'toga picta,' 'tunica palmata,' &c. The distinction went out of custom after the time of Hadrian (Staatsr. i. 466). That Agricola received it from Titus seems an error of Dio (66. 20, 3).

inlustris statuae, also called 'statua triumphalis' (H. 1. 79, 8) or 'laureata' (A. 4. 23, 1). Augustus instituted the custom of placing such in his Forum (Dio, 55. 10, 3), and the honour, though distinct from the 'ornamenta,' usually accompanied them: see Staatsr. i. 450, 2.

5. **quidquid.** We should expect 'quidquid aliud,' and in the passage generally cited as parallel (Dial. 35, 5), Gudeman so reads. 'Supplicationes' and other rites would here be meant.

multo verborum honore; so again in H. 4. 4, 3. The repetition of 'honore' after 'honorem' may be intentional, to point the contrast; or may be an inadvertence: see note on A. 1. 81, 1.

6. **decerni . . . iubet.** Such honours are decreed by the senate, but usually on the initiative of the princeps.

addique, &c. Probably (as A. explains it) the decree was so worded as to hint at further honours in contemplation, and the fact that Syria was vacant suggested that this government was meant. 'Iubet' is taken strictly with 'decerni' and loosely with 'addi.'

8. **Atilii Rufi.** A military diploma shows that T. Atilius Rufus was in A. D. 80 legatus of Pannonia.

maioribus, 'men of eminence,' not

Agricolam codicillos, quibus ei Suria dabatur, tulisse, cum praecepto ut, si in Britannia foret, traderentur; eumque libertum in ipso freto Oceani obvium Agricolae, ne appellato quidem eo ad Domitianum remeasse, sive verum istud, sive ex
3 ingenio principis fictum ac compositum est. tradiderat interim Agricola successori suo provinciam quietam tutamque. ac ne notabilis celebritate et frequentia occurrentium introitus esset, vitato amicorum officio noctu in urbem, noctu in Palatium, ita ut praeceptum erat, venit; exceptusque brevi osculo et nullo
4 sermone turbae servientium inmixtus est. ceterum uti militare nomen, grave inter otiosos, aliis virtutibus temperaret, tranquillitatem atque otium penitus hausit, cultu modicus,

1. eis (?) Δ. 2. Britanniam: perhaps Britannia etiam Halm. 9. praetemptum Δ. 10. turbae om. Δ. ut P. 12. peritus Klein. auxit: hausit W.

merely consulars, but distinguished consulars. A. notes a somewhat parallel use of 'minores' in A. 15. 16, 6; 20, 1; H. 4. 48, 4.

credidere plerique. A. notes this put pointedly in the beginning of a sentence, as in similar phrases in A. 1. 29, 4; 2. 43, 5; 4. 18, 2, &c.

9. **ministeriis,** for 'ministris,' as in A. 13. 27, 2; so often 'servitia,' and other abstracts for concretes, as 'matrimonia' (A. 2. 13, 3), &c.: see A. i. Introd. p. 42, § 1.

1. **dabatur,** 'was to be offered.' It is to be inferred that an order of recall had been already sent, and that this offer was only to be made in case he seemed disinclined to obey it.

3. **in ipso freto,** 'actually in the strait.'

4. **sive . . . sive,** εἴτε . . . εἴτε: cp. c. 43, 2. Here the words are referred in sense to the whole story, 'credidere,' &c. From the way in which he puts it, it is to be gathered that this was not told him by Agricola.

ex, 'in accordance with.'

6. **successori,** possibly Sallustius Lucullus, mentioned in Suet. Dom. 10 as having been legatus of Britain under Domitian, and put to death by him.

7. **celebritate,** 'by publicity (cp. H. 2. 64, 1) and a crowd coming to meet him'; such a reception of an eminent citizen at his homecoming as is described in the case of Cn. Piso, A. 3. 9, 2–3.

8. **officio,** 'the attention': cp. A. 2. 42, 2; and above, c. 18, 6.

9. **ut praeceptum,** probably referring only to 'noctu in Palatium.'

brevi osculo, 'a hasty kiss'; so in A. 13. 18, 5: cp. 'brevi auditu,' H. 2. 59, 2. The custom of greeting with a kiss the emperor's more intimate and more distinguished friends appears to have been introduced by Augustus, probably from the East, and checked by Tiberius (Suet. Tib. 34). See Friedlaender, Sitteng. i. p. 141.

10. **inmixtus,** perhaps best taken, with Peter, passively; 'he was mixed up with the courtier crowd,' thought no more of than one of them.

11. **grave inter otiosos.** A. seems rightfully to take this to mean that idlers were apt to glorify such a man, and bring him into peril; it might also mean that they envied and disliked his fame: 'inter,' i. e. 'cum omnes otiosi essent'; cp. c. 32, 4.

aliis virtutibus temperaret; he desired to blend the qualities of a soldier with others; i. e. that men should not regard him in that light only.

12. **hausit,** 'took his fill of' (cp. c. 4, 4, and note). No such phrase as 'haurire otium' is elsewhere found, but Wölfflin (Philol. xxvi. 153) notes that

sermone facilis, uno aut altero amicorum comitatus, adeo uti plerique, quibus magnos viros per ambitionem aestimare mos est, viso aspectoque Agricola quaererent famam, pauci interpretarentur.

41. Crebro per eos dies apud Domitianum absens accusatus, absens absolutus est. causa periculi non crimen ullum aut querela laesi cuiusquam, sed infensus virtutibus princeps et gloria viri ac pessimum inimicorum genus, laudantes. et ea **2**
insecuta sunt rei publicae tempora, quae sileri Agricolam non sinerent: tot exercitus in Moesia Daciaque et Germania et

3. quererent: text P. 10. Misia: Mysia P, text L.

the metaphor 'temperaret' is sustained, and that 'libertatem haurire' (H. 4. 5, 4; Liv. 39. 26, 7) is a near parallel. 'Auxit' yields no satisfactory sense and goes ill with 'penitus,' and a converse manuscript error ('ausit' for 'auxit') is noted in H. 4. 71, 2.

cultu, 'his mode of life': cp. c. 24, 2; A. 3. 55, 5, &c.

1. **facilis**, 'unassuming,' cp. A. 3. 8, 4, and 'facilitas,' c. 9, 4.

uno aut altero, 'one or at most two': cp. c. 12, 2; 15, 5; 'uni alterive,' G. 6, 3; also Gudeman on Dial. 9, 20. The simple abl. with 'comitatus' (cp. A. 14. 8, 5) follows Cic. pro Cael. 14, 34, and poets, as Verg. Aen. 1, 312.

2. **per ambitionem**, 'by their display,' used of what is done to court admiration: cp. 'funerum nulla ambitio' (G. 27, 1). 'Aestimare' has usually an abl. of the standard (with or without 'ex'), to which case the construction with 'per' (here alone used with it) is in many phrases equivalent (cp. c. 29, 1; Dr. S. u. S. § 89).

3. **quaererent famam**, 'asked about his reputation,' asked what he had done to be famous.

interpretarentur, 'understood it'; could see the real motive for his simple life. K. would supply 'eum' ('saw him as he really was'); but 'interpretari aliquem' does not seem to be a phrase in use. We might supply 'famam,' but should perhaps better refer the verb to his habits of life, as described. Peter compares the absolute use of 'intellegere' in A. 1. 11, 5.

5. **eos dies**, those following his return.

absens, repeated for emphasis. Charges (perhaps grounded on his government of Britain) were repeatedly brought against him in his absence (i. e. laid privately before the emperor), and rejected by Domitian without summoning him for trial.

7. **infensus . . . princeps**, 'the hostility of the prince.' On this frequent use of adjective or participle for an abstract noun and genit. see A. i. Introd. p. 59, § 55. 'Virtutibus,' any kind of excellence, as in c. 1, 3.

8. **laudantes**, 'panegyrists': cp. 'peccantes' (c. 4, 3), &c. Whether they were insidious enemies or indiscreet friends, their praise would be equally pernicious in result.

et, 'and indeed'; the times forced his name into notoriety.

9. **tempora**, the wars spoken of below.

sileri, 'to be unmentioned': cp. 'neque te silebo' (Hor. Od. 1. 12, 21); used with accus. of the thing in Cic.

10. **sinerent**, i. e. in spite of his own endeavour.

tot exercitus, &c. Some account of these campaigns is to be found in Dio 67. 7–8 and 10, also in Suet. Dom. 6, and in a few allusions elsewhere. The chronology of events is difficult to fix, but is here given from the careful investigation of evidence in Gsell's 'Essai sur le regne de l'empereur Domitien,' Paris, 1893. The Dacians, probably in the winter of A. D. 85, invaded Moesia, and defeated and killed

Pannonia temeritate aut per ignaviam ducum amissi, tot militares viri cum tot cohortibus expugnati et capti ; nec iam de limite imperii et ripa, sed de hibernis legionum et possessione
3 dubitatum. ita cum damna damnis continuarentur atque omnis annus funeribus et cladibus insigniretur, poscebatur ore vulgi dux Agricola, comparantibus cunctis vigorem et constantiam et expertum bellis animum cum inertia et formidine
4 ceterorum. quibus sermonibus satis constat Domitiani quoque

2. vici J. F. Gron., W. 3. possessionum Δ. 6. vigorem, constantiam Γ, text Δ. 7. inerciae et formidini al. Γ^{m}.. 8. eorum : ceterorum Grotius, aliorum ed. Bip., priorum, imbelliorum al.; Bach marks a lacuna, which Halm fills with quibus exercitus committi solerent. Domitianum Δ.

the legatus, Oppius Sabinus. Domitian took the field early in 86, and may have driven them back across the Danube (cp. 'Daci . . . victi,' Eus. Chron.), but returned to Rome by the summer, leaving in command the praef. praet. Cornelius Fuscus, who in the same year was killed and his army cut to pieces in Dacia. After this disaster, probably the greatest since that of Quintilius Varus, two years passed, in the latter of which (A.D. 88) the Parthians threatened war by taking up the cause of the pseudo-Nero (H. 1. 2, 3), and the 'bellum civile' (called also in some inscriptions 'bellum Germanicum') of Antonius Saturninus (Introd. p. 58) ensued. In 89 Tettius Iulianus restored Roman prestige by a considerable victory over the Dacians, but Domitian himself, after perhaps inflicting some chastisement on the Chatti (see on c. 39, 2), is stated (Dio, 67. 7, 2) to have attacked the Marcomani from Pannonia, and to have been defeated by them. This defeat and those of Sabinus and Fuscus explain the allusions here to Moesia, Dacia, and Germany. That to Pannonia probably points to a later date, that of the Suebo-Sarmatic war of A. D. 92, in which the Iazyges Sarmatae invaded that province and annihilated a legion (Suet. 6). Domitian was at the seat of war probably from May 92 to Jan. 93, and on his return consecrated a laurel without claiming a triumph (Suet. l. l.).

1. **temeritate aut per ignaviam.** For this variation of construction cp. c. 46, 3 ; A. 1. 2, 1 ; 11, 7, &c.

militares viri, 'officers' : cp. H. 3. 73, 3 ; A. 4. 42, 2, &c. 'Expugnati,' implying that they were in possession of forts, is used in several places of persons (H. 3. 19, 2 ; 5. 12, 2, and in Caesar, Livy, &c.) ; so that the emendation 'vici' is needless.

3. **limite** : probably such part of the well-known 'limes Romanus' between the Rhine and the Danube as may have been the work of Domitian is meant : see G. 29, 4, and note. Dr. (S. u. S. § 113) takes it to be explained by 'et ripa.'

ripa, here understood to be that of the Danube, as elsewhere (c. 28, 5, &c.) that of the Rhine. It had been previously crossed by Dacians in A. D. 69 (H. 3. 46, 3).

possessione, that of whole provinces. W. compares Cic. Acad. 2. 43, 132 'non de terminis sed de tota possessione contentio.'

4. **dubitatum,** 'was it a question of.'

continuarentur, 'followed continuously upon'; so with dat. in G. 45, 9 (in local sense), and in Cicero and Livy.

5. **omnis annus,** 'every year,' as 'omnis aetas,' &c. Prammer and Dr. take it be the whole year (A. D. 86), but no particular year has been specified.

7. **expertum bellis** : cp. 'ingenium nullis defensionibus expertum' (H. 4. 42, 5), 'bellis inexpertus' (H. 1. 8, 2) : Tacitus has also 'expertus belli' (H. 4. 76, 2).

cum inertia, &c. It is clear that the text is defective, and it is perhaps easiest to suppose 'eorum' to be the corruption of an abbreviated form of

aures verberatas, dum optimus quisque libertorum amore et fide, pessimi malignitate et livore pronum deterioribus principem exstimulabant. sic Agricola simul suis virtutibus, simul vitiis aliorum in ipsam gloriam praeceps agebatur.

42. Aderat iam annus, quo proconsulatum Africae et Asiae sortiretur, et occiso Civica nuper nec Agricolae consilium deerat nec Domitiano exemplum. accessere quidam cogita-

4. ipsa gloria (without in) Madvig, inter ipsam gloriam Bährens. 5. Asiae et Aphricae Δ, As. aut (or vel) Afr. L., del. Urlichs. 7. aderat Δ.

'ceterorum.' 'Aliorum' is used below, and Tacitus would probably have preferred not to use it in both places. Halm's suggestion rests on the supposition that a scribe skipped from one 'quibus' to another.

1. **aures verberatas**, a figure taken from Plautus (Amph. 1. 1, 177, &c.).

dum, probably best taken as only temporal ('whilst'): cp. H. 1. 1, 1; A. 13. 3, 1: it has also in Tacitus a causal force ('inasmuch as'), but only with the present.

libertorum, sc. 'Caesaris.'

amore et fide. A. takes these ablatives (cp. H. 2. 7, 3) as causal (the 'amor' and 'fides' being towards Domitian), 'malignitate et livore' as instrumental, and 'exstimulabant' as used strictly with the latter, and by zeugma, in the sense of 'adhortabantur' with the former.

2. **deterioribus**, to be taken as neut.; 'pronus in' being used when persons are spoken of (H. 1. 13, 9; 2. 58, 3; 74, 2; A. 2. 73, 6): A. notes a similar dative with 'facilis' (A. 2. 27, 2), 'promptus' (A. 2. 78, 1), &c. On the fondness of Tacitus for neuter plural adjectives cp. A. 3. 18, 6, and note.

3. **simul . . . simul**: cp. c. 25, 1; 36, 1. A similar antithesis is noted in H. 4. 34, 5 'non minus vitiis hostium quam sua virtute fretus.' Here the 'inertia' and 'formido' of other generals may be called 'vitia'; or perhaps the reference is rather to the 'malignitas et livor.'

4. **in ipsam gloriam.** If the text is sound this must be taken to imply that in being forced into glory he was also forced into all the perils belonging to it (cp. c. 5, 4; and 'famam fatumque,' c. 42, 4); but we should expect some mention of this, like 'unde gloria egregiis viris et pericula gliscebant' (A. 15. 23, 6). With Madvig's reading, 'praeceps' would be taken as in A. 4. 62, 3; 6. 17, 4: that of Bährens would mean 'in the very midst of his glorification'; while he was thus being glorified.

5. **quo proconsulatum**, &c. These two, the highest and most valuable of the senatorial provinces, were awarded every year to the two senior consulars who had not held either; the lot determining which was to have which. But sometimes one or other was given 'extra sortem' (cp. A. 3. 32, and notes), or a candidate was prohibited by the princeps (A. 6. 40, 3), or declined it, as did Salvius Liberalis under Trajan (Inscr. Or. 1170). From comparison of other instances, it is thought that the turn of Agricola would have fallen about twelve or thirteen years after his consulship, i.e. about A.D. 89 or 90.

6. **sortiretur** = 'sortiri debebat.'

Civica, the Civica Cerialis of Suet. Dom. 10, and Sex. Vettulenus Cerialis of an inscription at Venafrum (C. I. L. x. 4862), a legatus legionis in the Jewish war (Jos. B. J. 6. 4, 3). There is no record of his consulship, which may have been in about A.D. 73 or 74, after which another inscription (see A.'s note) shows him as legatus of Moesia in the the time of Vespasian. Suet. states (l. l.) that he was put to death by Domitian during his proconsulate of Asia, which may have been a year or two before the turn of Agricola.

consilium, 'a warning' (to show the wisdom of declining it).

7. **exemplum**, 'a precedent' (to do again what he had already safely done): so 'vestra exempla' (A. 3. 50, 2), 'parricidii exemplum' (A. 13. 16, 6), &c.

tionum principis periti, qui iturusne esset in provinciam ultro
2 Agricolam interrogarent. ac primo occultius quietem et otium laudare, mox operam suam in adprobanda excusatione offerre, postremo non iam obscuri suadentes simul terrentesque
3 pertraxere ad Domitianum. qui paratus simulatione, in adrogantiam compositus, et audiit preces excusantis et, cum adnuisset, agi sibi gratias passus est, nec erubuit beneficii invidia. salarium tamen proconsuli consulari solitum offerri et quibusdam a se ipso concessum Agricolae non dedit, sive offensus non petitum, sive ex conscientia, ne quod vetuerat videretur
4 emisse. proprium humani ingenii est odisse quem laeseris:

4. non tam: text R. 5. nis (i.e. simulationis) al. Γ$^{m.}$, simulationi (or parata simulatione) Bährens. 6. se excusantis Gudeman. 7. iniuria Ern., ludibrio Peerlkamp. 8. proconsulari Γ, procos^{rl} Δ, proconsulare de la Bleterie, text Mommsen.

1. **ultro**, without waiting for him to say anything about it.

2. **occultius**, 'without betraying their meaning,' opposed to 'non obscuri' ('in plain words'). So 'occultus' is used of a person who conceals his thoughts, H. 2. 38, 4: cp. A. 6. 51, 5.

quietem et otium: cp. c. 6, 3.

3. **adprobanda**, 'commending' (to Domitian): cp. c. 5, 1.

5. **pertraxere**, 'made him go with them': cp. H. 2. 72, 2; A. 6. 1, 5.

paratus simulatione, 'having studied his part with hypocrisy,' i.e. with pretended ignorance of any pressure put upon Agricola. Such an abl. might be called instrumental or one of respect: cp. 'paratum peditatu, equitatu,' &c., Cic. Att. 9. 13, 4; 'sermone paratus,' Suet. Cl. 42.

in adrogantiam compositus, 'assuming an air of dignity,' allowing himself to be entreated to do what he really wished to do. Cp. 'in securitatem compositus' (A. 3. 44, 4), 'in maestitiam' (H. 1. 54, 2; 2. 9, 2), &c.

6. **excusantis.** We should expect the addition of 'se,' or of an accus. of the thing pleaded in excuse, or apologized for. Such a pronoun could most easily have dropped out here; on the other hand Tacitus often omits it: see note on c. 9, 1.

7. **agi sibi**, &c. Cp. 'actae . . . gratiae consuetudine servitii' (H. 2. 71, 4), 'Seneca, qui finis omnium cum dominante sermonum, gratias agit' (A. 14. 56, 6), and Seneca's anecdotes of others (de Ira, 2. 33, 2; de Tranq. 14, 4).

nec erubuit, &c., 'did not blush for the odiousness of the concession'; for granting as a favour what was really the gratification of his own dislike. The abl. is causal, as in G. 28, 5. A. notes a similar sarcasm in H. 1. 21. 1 ('exilii honorem'). The emendation 'iniuria' is not needed.

8. **salarium**, &c. This substantive is not found earlier than Sen. and Plin. ma.; its use dates from the Augustan regulations by which all provincial governors had fixed pay on a scale proportioned to their rank: cp. Dio, 52. 23, 1; 53. 15, 4; Staatsr. i. 302; Marquardt, Staatsv. i. 558; ii. 108.

proconsuli consulari. This emendation appears almost certain. The manuscript text cannot stand, and the emendation 'proconsulare' would suppose that the salaries of all proconsuls were the same, and leaves 'offerri' without a dative. It is stated in Dio 78. 22, 5, that in A.D. 217 a pronconsul of Africa who declined the province received a million H. S.

9. **offensus**; so with accus. and inf. apparently only in Suet. Aug. 89; Phaedr. 4. 11, 6; analogous to 'dolens,' 'aegre ferens.'

10. **ex conscientia**, 'for very shame.' He knew that people saw the real state of the case.

11. **proprium humani ingenii.** For

Domitiani vero natura praeceps in iram, et quo obscurior,
eo inrevocabilior, moderatione tamen prudentiaque Agricolae
leniebatur, quia non contumacia neque inani iactatione liber-
tatis famam fatumque provocabat. sciant, quibus moris est 5
inlicita mirari, posse etiam sub malis principibus magnos viros
esse, obsequiumque ac modestiam, si industria ac vigor adsint,
eo laudis excedere, quo plerique per abrupta, sed in nullum
rei publicae usum, ambitiosa morte inclaruerunt.

7. escendere L., Halm, accedere H. Schutz, eorum laudes excedere, qui W. enisi (for sed) Heumann, Heraeus. ullum rei post (nullum re p̃ al. Γ^m.) : nullum reipublicae Urs., Mercer.

other such remarks on human nature cp. H. 1. 55, 1; 2. 20, 2; 38, 1.

odisse quem laeseris. In this sentiment he seems to have followed Seneca, who says, 'pertinaciores nos facit iniquitas irae' (de Ira, 3. 29, 2), and 'magna fortuna insolentes quos laeserunt, et oderunt' (Id. 2. 33, 1). In A. 1. 33, 2, we have 'odia quorum causae acriores quia iniquae.' A sense of our own baseness leads to hatred of a person who suggests the thought of it.

1. **vero**, pointing the contrast: Domitian would feel this far more than other men. 'Praeceps' is so used with 'in' in H. 1. 24, 2; with 'ad' in A. 16. 21, 3; and 'praeceps in iram' in Liv. 23. 7, 12.

obscurior, 'more reserved'; so of persons in A. 4. 1, 3; 6. 24, 4.

2. **inrevocabilior**, a rare word, originally poetical but in prose from Livy, here alone used by Tacitus, who has elsewhere 'implacabilis.'

3. **leniebatur.** It is to be noticed that, though Agricola himself received no further distinction during these years, his son-in-law was praetor in A.D. 88, and then or earlier 'quindecimvir sacris faciundis,' and probably received a province about A.D. 90 (see Introd. p. 6).

4. **famam fatumque**, 'renown and ruin.' A. notes that the two are so closely joined in idea, the one being regarded as the sure precursor of the other (cp. c. 41, 4, and note), and the connexion being strengthened by the alliteration, that it is hardly necessary to supply such a sense as that of 'quaerebat' by zeugma with 'famam.'

sciant, &c. On the significance of this passage as bearing on the purpose of the treatise see Introd. p. 14.

5. **inlicita**, 'forbidden,' by the constitution under which they live: cp. 'inlicitos honores,' A. 3. 27, 2.

6. **vigor**, 'energy,' especially in a military sense: cp. c. 41, 3; H. 1. 87, 4, &c.

7. **eo laudis excedere**, 'attain to as surpassing honour.' The text has been much questioned, but seems defensible by comparison of 'respublica . . . ad summum imperii fastigium excessit' (Val. Max. 5. 6, 4), and 'excedentia in nubis iuga' (Pliny, N. H. 27, 1, 1, 3); and may be regarded as one of the brachylogical harshnesses of the style of this treatise (see Introd. p. 21). If the text is sound, Tacitus must have in irony said less than he meant, as he evidently means to put the praise of moderation not on an equality with but far above that of those at whom he glances. W. supports his emendation as expressing the real meaning.

per abrupta, 'by perilous courses': cp. A. 4. 20, 5 ('abruptam contumaciam'), and note.

sed. There seems to be an implied antithesis, as if he had said, 'per ipsis periculosa sed reipublicae inutilia' (cp. A. 14. 12, 2). A., who adopts 'enisi,' admits that Tacitus does not elsewhere use it metaphorically.

8. **ambitiosa**, 'ostentatious,' cp. c. 29, 1, and note.

inclaruerunt: cp. A. 12. 37, 4, and Plin. ma. Tacitus oftener uses the simple 'clarescere.' Such an expression as 'quo inclaruerunt' must be taken as a straining after conciseness, and equiva-

43. Finis vitae eius nobis luctuosus, amicis tristis, extraneis etiam ignotisque non sine cura fuit. vulgus quoque et hic aliud agens populus et ventitavere ad domum et per fora et circulos locuti sunt; nec quisquam audita morte Agricolae
2 aut laetatus est aut statim oblitus. augebat miserationem constans rumor veneno interceptum: nobis nihil comperti adfirmare ausim. ceterum per omnem valetudinem eius crebrius quam ex more principatus per nuntios visentis et liber-

3. et per circulos Δ. 5. oblitus est: text Mur., oblitus.et W., oblitus.set Ritt., laetatus aut . . . oblitus est al. 6. nobis, with s. l. (sic lego) in margin, Γ, nobis Δ, quamvis Peter. 7. ut adfirmare ausim W., quod (quodve, aut quod al.) adfirmare Acid., nec adf. Ern., adfirmare . . . ausim Nipp. 8. principis Urs. and Mur. viseritis Δ.

lent to 'quo per abrupta tendentes inclaruerunt.'

1. **Finis vitae**, &c. In these closing chapters there are many reminiscences of the description of the death of the orator Crassus, in the prooemium of the third Book of Cic. de Orat., as here (2, 8), 'fuit hoc luctuosum suis, acerbum patriae, grave bonis omnibus.'

extraneis; so used in contrast to one of the family in A. 4. 11, 2, here an intermediate term between 'amici' and 'ignoti' (those wholly unacquainted with him: cp. A. 2. 71, 6). A Greek epigram on the death of an Agricola is cited by Lips. (Anth. P. 9. 549); but we have no means of identifying its reference.

2. **vulgus . . . populus.** The former is strictly the wider term; but they are so grouped as virtually synonymous in H. 1. 89, 1; Dial. 7, 4; as are 'populus' and 'plebs' in H. 1. 35, 1.

3. **aliud agens**, often used (see W.'s note) in the sense of 'inattentive' or 'heedless.' It would thus answer to the 'communium curarum expers populus' of H. 1. 89, 1, the 'vulgus vacuum curis' of H. 2. 90, 2.

4. **circulos**, 'coteries': cp. 'per convivia et circulos,' A. 3. 54, 1.

locuti sunt. A. notes that 'obitum Agricolae' is supplied from the sense: 'loqui' has the meaning of 'in ore habere' in H. 1. 50, 3; 4. 12, 1; A. 16. 22, 2.

5. **oblitus.** It is perhaps better to treat the repeated 'est' as dittography than to alter it to 'et' or set.'

6. **interceptum** (sc. 'fuisse'), used with 'veneno' in A. 3. 12, 7, and often of other kinds of treacherous death.

nobis, &c. The manuscript text would mean 'I may venture to say that we have no ascertained evidence'; and perhaps this is what Tacitus, speaking for the family, intended to say. The expression (frequent in Livy, &c.) would be stronger than a mere admission ('fateor'), but still leaves it open to any one to believe the 'rumor.' Cicero (ad Fam. 5. 5, 2) uses a more natural expression, 'audivi, nam comperisse me non audeo dicere.' The insertion of 'nec' or 'ut' would leave a more decided impression that he believed it. Suetonius does not mention Agricola among Domitian's victims, but Dio (66. 20, 3) gives the fact (ἐσφάγη) as undoubted. A similar belief as to the cause of the death of Germanicus is admitted by Tacitus to have been not only unproved but highly improbable (see A. 3. 14, 2; 19, 2).

7. **ceterum**, passing on to known facts which might give some support to the rumour.

per omnem valetudinem, 'throughout his illness': cp. c. 45, 4; 'per omnes valetudinis eius dies,' A. 4. 8, 2.

8. **principatus . . . visentis** = 'principum . . . visentium.' The point of the sentence is that princes, who always pay such visits of inquiry through messengers, do not usually pay them so often.

torum primi et medicorum intimi venere, sive cura illud sive
inquisitio erat. supremo quidem die momenta ipsa deficientis 3
per dispositos cursores nuntiata constabat, nullo credente sic
adcelerari quae tristis audiret. speciem tamen doloris animi
vultu prae se tulit, securus iam odii et qui facilius dissimularet
gaudium quam metum. satis constabat lecto testamento 4
Agricolae, quo coheredem optimae uxori et piissimae filiae
Domitianum scripsit, laetatum eum velut honore iudicioque.

1. med. primi et lib. intimi Ern. 3. constabant: text R. 4. animo (habitu Ern., sermone Mohr, ore Ritt.) vultuque: text Bährens.

1. **primi . . . intimi.** It need not be supposed that the order of these adjectives has got reversed; as we have elsewhere 'praecipuos libertorum' (A. 6. 38, 2) and 'medicus . . . frequens secretis' (A. 4. 3, 5).

sive, &c., 'whether that action meant interest (cp. § 1) or espionage' (cp. c. 2, 3), i.e. watching the symptoms, to see if all was going on as they wished. The text has been suspected, and 'cura' has been strained to mean 'pretended interest,' but Tacitus may have wished to put the possibility of its reality, without himself believing it. A. compares the account of Piso's messengers during the illness of Germanicus (A. 2. 69, 5); 'incusabantur, ut valetudinis adversa rimantes.' For the use of 'illud' cp. A. 1. 49, 4; 4. 19, 3, &c., and note on c. 21, 3.

2. **momenta,** 'turning points' (cp. 'brevibus momentis summa verti,' A. 5. 4, 2), the stages of his sinking.

3. **cursores,** couriers posted at intervals, probably to his Alban villa (c. 45, 1).

constabat, as also 'constat,' is uniformly impersonal in Tacitus. The imperfect is adapted to the time at which the evidence existed; as in § 4; c. 38, 2, &c.: see note on A. 13. 35, 3.

nullo credente, 'and none believed that news brought with such despatch could be unwelcome.'

4. **speciem,** &c. 'Speciem prae se tulit' must refer to something outward, and it seems impossible to take 'animo,' with W. and K., to refer to other outward expressions as distinct from those of countenance; the more so as 'animus' is elsewhere clearly distinguished from 'vultus' as the inward feeling from the outward expression (cp. H. 1. 85, 4; 4. 31, 3; Sall. Jug. 113, 3; Plin. Ep. 7. 1, 6), and even sharply opposed to it, as 'laetitiam . . . vultu ferens, animo anxius' (H. 2. 65, 1). Of the emendations, that adopted is the simplest, as an assimilation of 'animi' to the case of 'vultu' would cause the insertion of the conjunction, and Gudeman well supports the reading from Cicero, Verr. 1. 8, 21 ('animi dolorem vultu tegere'), and still more from Curt. 6. 9, 1 ('vultu praeferens dolorem animi'). The combinations 'habitu' or 'sermone vultuque' are well supported from Tacitus, but involve greater departure from the MSS.

5. **securus . . . odii,** 'relieved from hatred,' no longer troubled by it: cp. the use with 'casuum' (H. 1. 86, 2), 'pelagi' (Verg. Aen. 7, 304), 'poenae' (Hor. Ep. 2. 2, 17), &c.

et qui, 'and being such as to': cp. c. 30, 6; also 'et cui . . . placerent,' H. 2. 25, 2.

7. **coheredem . . . scripsit.** It became a common practice under bad emperors thus to sacrifice a part of the property to save the rest for the relatives. Gaius exacted this (Suet. Cal. 38), and some famous instances are given under Nero in which this was done or recommended to be done (A. 14. 31, 1; 16. 11, 2). Tiberius refused such legacies (A. 2. 48, 2), as did at first Domitian (Suet. Dom. 9), though afterwards seizing them eagerly (Id. 21), so that Pliny speaks of him (Pan. 43) as 'unus omnium, nunc quia scriptus, nunc quia non scriptus, heres.'

piissimae. This superlative, con-

tam caeca et corrupta mens assiduis adulationibus erat, ut nesciret a bono patre non scribi heredem nisi malum principem.

44. Natus erat Agricola Gaio Caesare tertium consule idibus Iuniis: excessit quarto et quinquagesimo anno, decumo
2 kalendas Septembris Collega Priscoque consulibus. quod si habitum quoque eius posteri noscere velint, decentior quam sublimior fuit; nihil impetus in vultu: gratia oris supererat.

3. ter: tertium L., iterum Nipp., primum Buchner. 4. sexto: quarto Petavius, quinto Nipp., tertio Ritt. 7. nihil impetus Γ, metus al. Γm., metus et impetus Δ, imperiosi Weidner. superat Δ.

demned by Cicero when used by Antonius (Phil. 13. 19, 43), is frequent in and after Seneca.

8. **honore iudicioque**, possibly a hendiadys, but perhaps better distinguished by A. as act and thought ('the mark of respect and the esteem implied in it'). 'Iudicium' is used specially of favourable opinion in A. 4. 39, 2 (where see note). He took as a compliment what had been dictated by fear of his tyranny.

2. **a bono patre**, &c., 'that to be chosen as heir by a good father a prince must be wicked.'

3. **Natus erat**, &c. Whether we take 'ter' to stand for 'tertium' or to be a corruption of 'iterum,' and place his birth in A. D. 39 or 40, we must still suppose an error, whether of one year or two, in the reckoning of his age, and the reading 'primum' is open to other objections. The date here adopted of his birth would suit that of his quaestorship (see on c. 6, 2), and is not irreconcilable with that of his father's death (see on c. 4, 1). Also, as it is the usual (though not invariable) practice to name both consuls, it is probable that the third consulship of Gaius, in which he began the year as sole consul (Suet. Cal. 17), is meant. We should thus suppose an error from confusion of 'vi' and 'iv' in respect of the years of his life. In some cases errors of chronology appear to be due to Tacitus himself (see on A. 12. 25, 3; 14. 64, 1). The day of his birth would be June 13, that of his death Aug. 23.

4. **decumo kalendas**; Tacitus often omits 'ante' in such expressions: see A. 6. 25, 5, and note.

5. **Collega Priscoque.** These consuls were the ordinarii of 846, A. D. 93, and (as also Gaius above) give their name to the whole year, though they were out of office at the time spoken of. The former, Cn. (?) Pompeius Collega, may have been son of one of the name who was legatus of Galatia, A. D. 75 (C. I. L. iii. 1. 306); the full name of the other is unknown, and his cognomen is also given as 'Priscinus' (see Klein, Fasti).

6. **habitum**, 'personal appearance' (cp. c. 11, 1; H. 1. 17, 2, &c.): A. supplies from it the subject of 'fuit.'

decentior quam sublimior, 'handsome rather than commanding.' 'Decens' is an epithet of Venus and the Graces in Horace, 'pulcher ac decens' are coupled in Suet. Dom. 18, and 'decentior' serves also as comparative of 'decorus.'

7. **nihil impetus**, 'nothing passionate.' We should gather that in some original MS. it had not been clear whether 'metus' or 'impetus' was intended, that the exemplar followed by Laetus gave them as alternatives, one in the text, the other in the margin, and was followed by him in this respect, while the scribe of Δ supposed that they were to be combined. 'Impetus,' in the sense of 'impetuosity of character' (cp. A. 13. 54, 6; H. 1. 57, 5), on the whole makes better sense than 'metus,' which, though it can mean 'metuendum aliquid' (cp. A. 1. 40, 1, and note), is elsewhere used of circumstances, and chiefly takes this meaning from the context, and would be here very ambiguous.

gratia oris, &c., 'kindliness of expression was abundant': 'superesse' has this meaning in c. 45, 6; G. 6, 1;

bonum virum facile crederes, magnum libenter. et ipse quidem, quamquam medio in spatio integrae aetatis ereptus, quantum ad gloriam, longissimum aevum peregit. quippe et vera bona, quae in virtutibus sita sunt, impleverat, et consulari ac triumphalibus ornamentis praedito quid aliud adstruere 3

3. opibus . . . contigerant after peregit Gudeman. 4. sunt om. Δ.

26, 2; H. 1. 51, 3, &c. A. takes it here to mean 'prevailed,' as in A. 3. 47, 1.

1. **bonum**, &c., 'you would readily believe him to be a good, and not unwillingly to be a great man'; i.e. his personal appearance did not belie his reputation.

ipse, 'he himself,' as distinct from his 'habitus': cp. 'ipsi Britanni,' c. 13, 1.

2. **integrae aetatis**, apparently best taken, with W., as not a partitive genitive, but qualitative, and explanatory of 'medio,' 'in the midst of his career, while yet in unimpaired life.' 'Medio spatio' is thus used of life in a passage followed in many places here (Cic. de Orat. 3. 2, 7), and 'integra aetas' is used of Tiberius at a considerably more advanced age (Suet. Tib. 10), 'integra iuventa' of Agrippina at about thirty-three (A. 12. 2, 3).

3. **quantum ad**, 'as far as concerned' ('quantum attinet ad'); so used in G. 21, 3; H. 5. 10, 3; perhaps from Ov. A. A. 1. 744 ('quantum ad Pirithoum'), or Sen. Ep. 85, 14. The longest life could have added nothing to his glory.

quippe, &c. To interpret this passage as it stands, we should have to make the meaning somewhat as follows: 'his glory was as complete as if he had lived out his days; for he had realized to the full (so "impletum est consilium," H. 1. 16, 9; "summum fastigium impleret," Plin. Ep. 2. 1, 2, &c.), the only true blessings (according to the Stoic creed: cp. H. 4. 5, 3, &c.), and as to fortune's gifts he was a consular and "triumphalis." He cared not for excessive, nor had he splendid wealth (and was thereby all the less imperilled); he did not die a widower or childless, and he escaped the evil days to come.' The connexion is often in places very obscure; and the fullest discussion of the questions raised is that of Prof. Gudeman. One leading difficulty is that 'opibus . . . contigerant' appears irrelevant, and such an explanation as is given above, or any other, has to be wholly supplied by the reader: another, that 'filia . . . superstitibus' cannot be taken with the preceding, nor without difficulty (but see note below) with the following words; while the proposal to read 'filiae atque uxori,' with 'contigerant,' gives a meaning that needs further words to make it clear. The transposition suggested by Prof. Gudeman still appears to leave some difficulty; as we should rather expect 'speciosae non contigerant' to be followed by some such word as 'tamen' than by 'quippe'; also 'filia . . . superstitibus' would have a clearer meaning by coming close after 'praedito.' Very possibly there is some deeper seated corruption in the passage than we have the means of remedying. Prof. Gudeman seems right in disagreeing with the general consensus which has followed Γm. in omitting the 'non' with 'contigerant.' If we had 'satis amplae,' or other such words stating that handsome or sufficient means had fallen to Agricola's lot, there would be much to be said for the omission; but 'speciosae' is a much stronger word (cp. 'opibus speciosus,' A. 3. 55, 3); and the facts that his maternal goods were plundered (c. 7, 1) and his paternal probably confiscated (c. 4, 1), that his official life was without greed (c. 9, 4), that the proconsular salary was not given to him (c. 42, 3), and that the authorities followed by Dio (66. 20, 3) make him live in poverty (ἐνδείᾳ), are strongly against the supposition that he was rich.

5. **adstruere**, 'to add': cp. 'tamquam nobilitatem adstruerent,' H. 1. 78, 3. This sense, found also in Vell., Plin. ma. and mi., seems to occur first in Ov. A. A. 2, 119 ('animum . . . adstrue formae').

4 fortuna poterat? opibus nimiis non gaudebat, speciosae non contigerant. filia atque uxore superstitibus potest videri etiam beatus incolumi dignitate, florente fama, salvis adfini- ×
5 tatibus et amicitiis futura effugisse. nam sicuti ~~. . . durare~~ in hanc beatissimi saeculi lucem ac principem Traianum videre, quod augurio votisque apud nostras auris ominabatur, ita

iuvaret durare

1. non contigerant (contingerant Δ) f. a. u. superstitibus: non om. Γm., spe. contigerant. filia R. 2. filiae atque uxori Selling, W, filia . . . superstitibus after fama Doed., after amicitiis Urlichs. 4. nam sicuti durare: sicuti magnae cuiusdam felicitatis esse (esset W) Urs., sicuti (or sicut ei) non licuit durare Dahl, Halm, sicut iuvaret durare Müller. 5. hac . . . luce: text Acid. 6. [quod] R, L, quodam ed. Bip., quondam Ritt. (1848).

2. **filia,** &c. That this sentence cannot be taken as punctuated in the MSS. has been already noted. Among other difficulties in taking it with the following words, is the argument that if he was happy in escaping coming ills, he was not so in leaving his wife and daughter to face them; which would have the more force if the clause was placed after 'fama,' or after 'amicitiis'; though in any case the words mean no more than that a man is happy in not having outlived all who were dearest to him. As the words stand, they can only be taken as representing a sufficiently distinct idea in the writer's mind to have been more naturally expressed in a separate sentence, for which, by a stroke of conciseness, an abl. abs. is substituted. Stress is laid on 'beatus' (as in c. 43, 3, on 'tristis'), and the meaning would be that his good fortune is seen both in his position and surroundings having lasted out his life, and also in his having escaped the evil days in store. 'His wife and daughter survived him, and he may seem to have been even blest by fortune in that his position was still unassailed, his reputation prosperous, his kinsfolk and friends still preserved, and in that he escaped the future.'

3. **dignitate**; so used for 'dignitate senatoria' in A. 3. 17, 8.

adfinitatibus et amicitiis, abstract for concrete: cp. c. 40, 2, &c.

4. **nam sicuti,** &c. In this evidently corrupt passage there is clearly an antithesis, as in Dial. 11, 2 (where see Gudeman), H. 5. 7, 3; Liv. 21. 35, 3, &c. (see Dr. S. u. S. § 173), between 'sicuti' (or possibly 'sicut ei') and 'ita' (as oftener between 'ut' and 'ita': cp. c. 6, 4); that as on the one hand he missed a great happiness, so on the other he escaped great misery. The attempt (of Boetticher and others) to explain the manuscript text by supposing such an unprecedented ellipse as that of supplying 'solatium tulisset' from 'solatium tulit' may be dismissed. To omit or bracket 'quod' is less simple than to alter it to 'quodam' or 'quondam,' but even this seems unsatisfactory. 'Ominabatur durare' can hardly stand for 'ominabatur se duraturum'; and even the latter would seem wrong. What Agricola could be said 'ominari' was that Trajan would be emperor, not that he would live to see him such. W.'s text rests on the doubtful postulate that Orsini is following a manuscript reading of authority; and such an expression as 'cuiusdam felicitatis' ('happiness of some sort') is hardly complimentary to Trajan. It seems necessary to suppose a lacuna, which may have been filled by some such words as Dahl and Müller suggest, but which, in the absence of evidence, is best left blank.

durare, &c. The alteration to 'lucem' is supported by Dial. 17, 7; A. 3. 16, 2.

6. **quod,** &c., 'an event which he used to foretell and long for': cp. 'si quid veri mens augurat, opto,' Verg. Aen. 7, 273. Some such sense as that of 'optabat' is here supplied with 'votis.' Trajan inherited considerable fame from his father, who was a distinguished 'legatus legionis' in the Jewish war (Jos. B. J. 3. 7, 31), must

× dele the signs of lacuna before durare and print instead of these signs the word iuvaret

festinatae mortis grande solacium tulit evasisse postremum illud tempus, quo Domitianus non iam per intervalla ac spiramenta temporum, sed continuo et velut uno ictu rem publicam exhausit.

45. Non vidit Agricola obsessam curiam et clausum armis senatum et eadem strage tot consularium caedes, tot nobilissimarum feminarum exilia et fugas. una adhuc victoria Carus Metius censebatur, et intra Albanam arcem sententia Messalini

5. clusum Γ. 7. charus mitius Γ, Mettius al. Γ^2, Clarus mitius Δ, text R.

have become consul soon after, gained triumphalia as legatus of Syria in A.D. 76, was afterwards 'procos. Asiae,' and is spoken of as dead in Plin. Pan. 89. Trajan himself had already earned distinction in Germany before his first consulship, which was in A.D. 91, two years before Agricola's death. Presages of him, deriving their force 'ex eventu,' are mentioned in Plin. Pan. 5; Dio, 67. 12, 1.

apud . . . auris, personification, as in many places: cp. A. 1. 31, 5, and note. By 'nostras' Tacitus probably means his own.

1. **festinatae.** The word seems to suggest the suspicion of foul play: cp. A. 1. 6, 4; 4. 28, 2, &c. The transitive use follows poets and Sallust.

solacium tulit; so in A. 4. 66, 1 (cp. 'dolorem tulit,' A. 2. 84, 3), for the more classical 'solacium afferre' (Cic. Lael. 27, 104). 'Nobis' is to be supplied and 'eum' with 'evasisse' (forming the subject). A. takes 'tulit' as = 'accepit,' and 'solacium' as 'compensation' (c. 6, 3).

2. **spiramenta**, 'pauses' (so used apparently only here and in Ammian); rhetorically synonymous with 'intervalla': for the use of 'per' see on c. 29, 1.

3. **continuo**, perhaps here an adverb, but elsewhere in Tacitus always an adjective.

uno ictu, a figure perhaps suggested by the famous wish of Gaius (Sen. de Ira, 3. 19, 2), 'ut populus Romanus unam cervicem haberet, ut scelera sua . . . in unum ictum . . . cogeret.'

4. **exhausit**, 'drained of its blood': cp. 'caedibus exhaustos,' A. 12. 10, 2; and 'Italiam . . . hauriri,' A. 13. 42, 7.

5. **Non vidit**, &c., imitated from Cic. on L. Crassus (de Orat. 3. 2, 8), 'non vidit flagrantem bello Italiam, non ardentem invidia senatum, non sceleris nefarii principes civitatis reos, non luctum filiae, non exsilium generi,' &c.; a passage also apparently imitated in Sen. Cons. ad Marc. 20, 5.

obsessam curiam. The act of Nero at the trial of Thrasea (A. 16. 27, 1) seems to have been repeated by Domitian. For the combination 'non' . . . 'et' . . . 'et' cp. Dr. S. u. S. § 107. The ideas are all grouped closely.

6. **eadem strage**; so in the denunciation of Regulus in H. 4. 42, 5, 'cum . . . innoxios pueros, inlustres senes, conspicuas feminas eadem ruina prosterneres.'

consularium. Twelve names, most of them certainly those of consulars, are to be gathered from Suet. Dom. 10, 11, 15.

7. **feminarum**: cp. H. 1. 3, 2. Pliny tells us (Ep. 3. 11, 6; cp. 7. 19, 4; 9. 13, 5) of Gratilla, wife of Arulenus Rusticus (c. 2, 1), Arria, widow of Thrasea, and her daughter Fannia, wife of Helvidius.

exilia et fugas, probably synonyms, or perhaps the latter is a more general term, covering 'relegatio' or other less severe forms of banishment. See notes on A. 1. 6, 3; 4. 13, 2, &c.

Carus Metius. The name in the MSS. must be intended for that of this famous delator, the accuser of Senecio (see on c. 2, 1), of Fannia (Plin. Ep. 7. 19, 5), and of many others: see Plin. Ep. 1. 5, 3; 7. 27, 14; Mart. 12. 25, 5; Juv. 1, 36 (where the Schol. gives some further particulars): this 'una victoria' cannot be identified.

8. **censebatur**, 'was estimated,' a post-Augustan use: see Gudeman on

strepebat, et Massa Baebius [iam] tum reus erat: mox nostrae duxere Helvidium in carcerem manus; nos Mauricum Rusti-

1. Bebius Γ, Boebius Δ, text H. 4. 50. iam tum Γ, tum Δ, etiam tum J. F. Gron., nondum Gudeman. 2. nos Maurici Rusticique uisus: al. nos Mauricium Rusticumque divisimus $\Gamma^{m.}$, and Urs., visus horrore Henrichsen, pudore Dr.

Dial. 39, 24. The abl. is that of value; his power was counted by one victory only, and we know not yet what it would become.

arcem. Domitian's Alban villa is so called in Juv. 4, 145, and it is called an ἀκρόπολις in Dio, 67. 1, 2. 'Intra' is emphatic; his voice was not yet heard beyond it, not in the senate: cp. A. 3. 54, 5, &c.

Messalini, L. Valerius Catullus Messalinus (Insc. ap. Borgh. v. 527) a famous blind accuser, eloquently described in Plin. Ep. 4. 22, 5, and in Juv. 4, 113–122, who calls him 'mortifer,' and 'grande et conspicuum nostro quoque tempore monstrum' (see Mayor, ad loc.). He died apparently before Domitian (Plin. l. l.).

1. **Massa Baebius,** mentioned in A. D. 70, as then a procurator of Africa, 'iam tunc optimo cuique exitiosus, et inter causas malorum, quae mox tulimus, saepius rediturus' (H. 4. 50, 3). The Schol. on Juv. 1, 35, makes him, as also Carus and Latinus, to have been among the freedmen buffoons of Nero's court.

[iam] tum reus. Pliny, who was deputed by the senate, with Senecio, to accuse him for misconduct in the administration of Hispania Baetica, gives an account of the proceedings to Tacitus for insertion in the Histories (Ep. 7. 33; cp. also 3. 4, 4; 6. 29, 8). He was condemned, but turned upon Senecio with a charge of 'impietas.' We see here that his trial was pending at the time of Agricola's death, whose last days were thus cheered by the belief that this formidable person would be crushed. It seems probable that Δ has here preserved the right reading, as 'iam tum' would imply that Massa was on the wane and tending to come to nothing; the fact being that he was only under a temporary eclipse.

nostrae, those of senators. Tacitus treats as the act of the whole order, including himself (cp. Introd. p. 15), what may have been that of one person only; as Publicius Certus was especially noted for having laid hands on Helvidius, and was attacked by Pliny after the death of Domitian (see Ep. 9. 13). He says (§ 2), 'nullum (scelus) atrocius videbatur quam quod in senatu senator senatori, praetorius consulari, reo iudex manus intulisset.'

2. **Helvidium,** son of the Helvidius of c. 2, 1, and stepson of Fannia (Plin. Ep. 9. 13, 3). He was indicted for an imaginary allusion to Domitian in a tragedy written by him (Suet. Dom. 10), and put to death. Pliny mentions (l. l. § 4) his wife Anteia, and wrote a treatise in vindication of him (Ep. 7. 30, 4; 9. 13, 1).

nos, &c. The marginal text here adopted (with Andresen), like some others introduced by 'al,' may possibly have some further authority than (as Halm calls it) the unhappy conjecture of Laetus (see Introd. p. 2, n. 4), and, even if only a conjecture, gives a good and pathetic meaning: 'we parted the brothers' (sentencing one to death, the other to exile). With the alternative reading, supposing 'visus' to denote their appearance as criminals, such a zeugma as that of supplying 'dedecoravit' or 'afflixit' from 'sanguine perfudit' seems, like the ellipse suggested in c. 44, 5, beyond anything used by Tacitus even in this treatise; and the addition of 'horrore' or 'pavore' (for which Dr. compares Liv. 26. 50, 9), besides being violent, still leaves a harsh double use of 'perfudit,' hardly paralleled by Plin. Pan. 2 ('lacrimis . . . ac . . . pudore suffunditur'). Also, while there is ground for contrasting Rusticus with Mauricus, there is no reason for contrasting him with Senecio, as both were put to death, and 'sanguine perfudit' would be as (rhetorically) true of the one as of the other.

Mauricum Rusticumque. Junius Mauricus is mentioned in A. D. 70 as asking for the publication of the

cumque divisimus, nos innocenti sanguine Senecio perfudit.
Nero tamen subtraxit oculos suos iussitque scelera, non spec- 2
tavit: praecipua sub Domitiano miseriarum pars erat videre
et aspici, cum suspiria nostra subscriberentur, cum denotandis
tot hominum palloribus sufficeret saevus ille vultus et rubor,
quo se contra pudorem muniebat.

Tu vero felix, Agricola, non vitae tantum claritate, sed 3
etiam opportunitate mortis. ut perhibent qui interfuerunt
novissimis sermonibus tuis, constans et libens fatum excepisti,
tamquam pro virili portione innocentiam principi donares.

1. Senetio: text P. 5. [tot hominum] pallore oribus W. 6. a quo: quo L. 8. perhiberent: text P.

'commentarii principum' (H. 4. 40, 6). His intimate friend Pliny speaks of his relegation (3. 11, 3), and of his high character (4. 22, 3), and addresses some letters to him. On Arulenus Rusticus see c. 2, 1, and note.

2. **tamen**, i.e. cruel though he was, yet, &c. 'Subtrahere oculos,' 'aures,' occur again in A. 3. 53, 1; 16. 26, 1; and a somewhat different turn, 'subtrahere oculis acerba funera' in A. 13. 17, 4: for 'iubere scelera' cp. H. 1. 45, 4. Nero was not present at the trial of Thrasea and Soranus (A. 16. 27, 2).

3. **videre et aspici**, 'to see him and be seen by him'; so 'viderent modo et aspicerentur,' A. 3. 45, 2.

4. **subscriberentur**, 'were noted down,' to be laid to our charge: cp. 'Pinarium . . . cum contionante se . . . subscribere quaedam animadvertisset,' Suet. Aug. 27; also Id. Cal. 29; Quint. 12. 8, 8. The word is often used of signing an accusation (cp. A. 1. 74, 1, and note), and some would so take it here. Persons were accused 'ob lacrimas' under Tiberius (A. 6. 10, 1).

denotandis . . . sufficeret: for 'sufficere' with gerundive dat. cp. A. 3. 72, 4, and note. For the use of 'denotare' cp. 'denotantibus vobis ora ac metum' (A. 3. 53, 1), 'notat et designat oculis ad caedem' (Cic. Cat. 1. 1, 2).

5. **tot hominum palloribus**. This abstract plural (cp. Lucr. 4, 336) is used rhetorically for 'so many pale faces,' and the expression, as Müller notes, is condensed for 'ad incutiendos pallores qui denotarentur.' A glance from his fiery countenance made men turn pale, and the accusers marked it and remembered it. W's emendation has not been followed. With it, he would take 'denotandis' to mean (like Ovid's 'rubor ora notavit') 'making them conspicuous.'

rubor. Domitian's naturally flushed countenance was ascribed in his youth (H. 4. 40, 1), and by some persons afterwards (Suet. Dom. 18), to modesty. Pliny (Pan. 48) speaks like Tacitus; 'superbia in fronte, ira in oculis, femineus pallor in corpore, in ore inpudentia multo rubore suffusa.'

6. **quo**, &c. The attempts to defend 'a quo' are not successful. The sense is that his permanent complexion made it impossible for him to blush for shame, or for people to see that he did not do so.

7. **Tu vero**, &c., again a reminiscence of Cic. de Or. 3. 3, 12 'ego vero te, Crasse, cum vitae flore tum mortis opportunitate divino consilio et ortum et exstinctum arbitror.'

9. **constans et libens**, 'bravely and cheerfully.'

fatum, often used of natural, in contrast to violent death (cp. A. 2. 42, 5; 71, 2: 6. 10, 3, &c.), though in c. 42, 4, with an opposite meaning. Here it makes against the suspicion of poison, and A. thinks it may have been the term used by Agricola himself for his illness. On the use of fatalist expressions by Tacitus see A. i. Introd. p. 31.

10. **tamquam**, expressing the judgement of those who heard his words.

4 sed mihi filiaeque eius praeter acerbitatem parentis erepti auget maestitiam, quod adsidere valetudini, fovere deficientem, satiari vultu complexuque non contigit. excepissemus certe mandata vocesque, quas penitus animo figeremus.
5 noster hic dolor, nostrum vulnus, nobis tam longae absentiae
6 condicione ante quadriennium amissus est. omnia sine dubio, optime parentum, adsidente amantissima uxore superfuere honori tuo: paucioribus tamen lacrimis comploratus es, et novissima in luce desideravere aliquid oculi tui.

46. Si quis piorum manibus locus, si, ut sapientibus placet, non cum corpore extinguuntur magnae animae, placide quiescas,

1. eius om. R., tuae Cornelissen. 3. excepissem: text Acid., Pichena. 4. pin (i. e. pingeremus) al. Γ^2. 5. nobis om. Δ, tum al. $\Gamma^{m.}$, tam nostrae Δ, tum nostrae W. 6. triennium Urlichs. amissus es R. 8. compositus $\Gamma^{m.}$.

pro virili portione; so again in H. 3. 20, 2, for the more usual 'pro virili parte,' τὸ ἑαυτοῦ μέρος, 'as far as one man could.'

innocentiam . . . donares, 'you would make him a present of acquittal,' dispel the suspicion of foul play by speaking of your illness as natural. He may mean to imply that the present was undeserved.

1. **parentis erepti**, defining genit. with causal force; the participle standing for an abstract noun ('the loss of a parent'), as in c. 41, 1. A. compares 'superbia recentis victoriae,' H. 1. 8, 5.

2. **adsidere valetudini**, 'to watch your illness,' for 'adsidere aegrotanti.'

3. **satiari**, &c., 'to satisfy our longings with the last look and last embrace.'

excepissemus, 'we should have caught up': cp. A. 6. 24, 2, and 'excepta vox,' H. 3. 32, 6, and Livy.

4. **figeremus** = 'infigeremus'; so 'figi humo,' A. 1. 65, 7; otherwise such an abl. is poetical.

5. **nostrum vulnus** (cp. c. 29, 1), as distinct from the grief that all felt.

6. **condicione**, causal abl., 'owing to the circumstance' (cp. 'praesens condicio,' A. 14. 55, 4): 'absentiae' is a defining genitive.

ante quadriennium; for 'quadriennio ante.' Gantrelle compares 'ante aliquot dies,' Nep. Dat. 11. On the absence of Tacitus see Introd. p. 6. If we suppose him to have returned by the time of the trial of Rusticus and Senecio, he would have left in A. D. 89, or perhaps early in A. D. 90; the four years being possibly reckoned inclusively.

amissus est: 'es' should not be read, as the apostrophe is dropped after 'donares' (cp. 'filiae eius') and resumed in 'optime parentum.'

7. **superfuere**, 'were in abundance,' cp. c. 44, 2, and note. The presence of his wife ensured all outward marks of respect; but there was still an unsatisfied longing for others dear to him. A. notes the use of 'aliquid' to express the vague longing of a dying man.

8. **comploratus**. The alternative 'compositus' is hardly as suited to 'lacrimis,' but is supported by H. 1. 47, 4; Hor. Sat. 1. 9, 28.

10. **Si quis**, &c. The general subject of Roman belief respecting immortality is very fully treated in Friedlaender, Sitteng. iii. ch. vi. Such a belief, though not an essential tenet of Stoicism, was held in some shape and form by most Stoics (cp. A. 16. 34, 2 and note; 35, 3), and founded on Platonism. The doctrine here indicated, that of an immortality of the great and good only, had been held by Chrysippus, and is here somewhat hesitatingly assented to

nosque et domum tuam ab infirmo desiderio et muliebribus
lamentis ad contemplationem virtutum tuarum voces, quas
neque lugeri neque plangi fas est. admiratione te potius et 2
immortalibus laudibus et, si natura suppeditet, similitudine
colamus: is verus honos, ea coniunctissimi cuiusque pietas.
id filiae quoque uxorique praeceperim, sic patris, sic mariti 3
memoriam venerari, ut omnia facta dictaque eius secum re-
volvant, formamque ac figuram animi magis quam corporis
complectantur, non quia intercedendum putem imaginibus

1. nosque domum: text Urlichs. mulieribus Δ. 3. potius temporalibus (with † in margin of Γ): potius quam aemulatione Urs., quam temporalibus ed. Bip., &c., et immortalibus Acid., te immortalibus L. 5. militum (multum Δ) decoramus: decoremus Urs., colamus Muret., imitando colamus Pichena, similitudine Grotius, aemulatu Heins., te colamus Gudeman. 8. famamque: text Mur. 9. interdicendum conj. Urs.

by Tacitus. Cicero had adopted it in the 'Somnium Scipionis': cp. also pro Sest. 68, 143.

1. **et domum.** This correction appears necessary, as Tacitus could not belong to the 'domus' of Agricola.

muliebribus. Cp. the sentiment ascribed to the Germans (G. 27, 2), 'feminis lugere honestum est, viris meminisse'; also that of the injunction of Seneca to his wife (A. 15. 62, 1), of Germanicus to his friends (A. 2. 71, 5), and of L. Marcius to his soldiers (Liv. 25. 38, 8).

2. **voces.** His spirit is represented as still holding intercourse with them.

quas, &c.: the removal of such virtues to a higher sphere is an event for which we must neither feel nor manifest sorrow.

3. **et immortalibus.** The manuscript text could possibly be defended (as by Brotier) by making Tacitus speak despondingly of the short-lived character of any kind of laudation; but this seems contrary to the general spirit of the passage. The insertion of 'quam,' though giving an excellent sense, is somewhat violent; and it seems therefore better to treat 'temporalibus' as a corruption of 'et (or "te") immortalibus.' It need not necessarily be supposed that Tacitus is speaking arrogantly of his own work (of which he speaks with becoming confidence below), as 'immortalis' may be taken (with A.) to mean 'lifelong,' and may refer generally to the laudation of friends and contemporaries. Cp. 'immortali memoria . . . retinebat beneficia' (Nep. Att. 11. 5) and the use of 'aeternus' for 'lifelong' in A. 14. 55, 5; 15. 63, 1.

4. **suppeditet,** 'suffices': cp. 'quod si vita suppeditet,' H. 1. 1, 5.

similitudine colamus. Either this or 'aemulatu te colamus,' or 'aemulatu decoremus' seem to be the nearest approaches to the manuscript text which yield a good sense. As to the question between them, the text here adopted is supported (as Bährens notes, p. 168) by 'si natura suppeditet.' To achieve a resemblance to a great man's character requires such a condition; mere 'aemulatus' or 'imitatio' would less appropriately be said to do so. 'Militum de' is a conceivable corruption of such an abbreviation as 'similitude.'

6. **id,** explained by the infinitive following, as in c. 39, 3.

7. **revolvant,** 'ponder over'; so (without 'in animo' or a pronoun), in A. 3. 18, 6; 4. 21, 2: this use appears in Vergil and Ovid, but apparently in no earlier prose than Tacitus.

8. **formamque ac figuram,** 'the type and character,' rhetorical synonyms, and thus coupled in Cic. Tusc. 1. 16, 37: de Or. 3. 45, 179; Plin. Pan. 55. Some have unsuccessfully endeavoured to defend the manuscript text as a hendiadys.

9. **complectantur,** 'treasure,' realize in memory. The idea of such a word as 'animo' is supplied, as that of 'bello'

quae marmore aut aere finguntur, sed, ut vultus hominum, ita simulacra vultus imbecilla ac mortalia sunt, forma mentis aeterna, quam tenere et exprimere non per alienam materiam
4 et artem, sed tuis ipse moribus possis. quidquid ex Agricola amavimus, quidquid mirati sumus, manet mansurumque est in animis hominum, in aeternitate temporum, fama rerum; nam multos veterum velut inglorios et ignobilis oblivio obruit: Agricola posteritati narratus et traditus superstes erit.

2. imbecillia Δ. 5. admirati Wölfflin. 6. in fama Halm, [fama rerum] Ritt., traditus fama rerum Peerlk., multos fama rerum notos velut Bährens. 7. obruet: text Haupt.

with 'amplexus' in c. 28, 1: cp. Gudeman on Dial. 5, 15.

non quia, &c., 'not that I would forbid'; the metaphor is from the tribunician veto. For the combination 'quia . . . sed' cp. Gudeman on Dial. 9, 13; Heraeus on H. 1. 15, 12.

2. **forma mentis**, cp. 'forma animi' above. Here it seems taken almost in a Platonic sense.

3. **quam tenere**, &c., 'which you can preserve and reproduce not by the material and artistic skill of another, but only in your own character.' Cp. the sentiment of Seneca in A. 15. 62, 1.

4. **ex**, 'belonging to.'

5. **mansurumque est**, 'and is destined to abide,' a stronger expression than 'manebit': cp. A. 4. 38, 2, &c.; Gudeman on Dial. 9, 22.

6. **in animis**, &c., 'in the hearts of men, in the endless course of ages, by the glory of noble deeds.' 'Fama rerum' has this sense in H. 4. 39, 3 ('claros rerum fama'), and Liv. 25. 38, 8 ('vivunt vigentque fama rerum gestarum'), and can hardly be taken with W. to mean 'history,' though the fact that his fame will be on record is implied. As the words stand, there is certainly some incongruity in the clauses, which Halm's reading 'in fama' does not remove. Hence the suggestion to treat 'fama rerum' as a gloss, or to transpose it to another place; but see next note.

7. **nam**, &c. This seems to relate closely to 'fama rerum': 'the glory of the achievements of many has not survived, but his will last.'

obruit. This tense seems required to suit 'veterum'; for he does not seem to mean that many of the heroes of old will be forgotten, but that they are already so, whereas the fame of Agricola's achievements will survive by being placed on record. The sentiment resembles that of Hor. Od. 4. 9, 25–28. The reference need not be taken to be to this book only; but the fact has been that, but for a brief and mostly inaccurate mention in two places in Dio (39. 50, 4; 66. 20, 1), Agricola's name would have been unknown to us without it.

I.

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The references are to the Chapter and Section.

II.

INDEX TO THE INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

The references here are to the Page.

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